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THE
NEW TESTAMENT IN THE
" APOSTOLIC FATHERS

BY

A COMMITTEE OF THE OXFORD SOCIETY
OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1905

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HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK AND TORONTO

PREFACE

THIS work had its origin in a resolution passed by the Society of Historical Theology, in Oxford, appointing a small Committee to prepare a volume exhibiting those passages of early Christian writers which indicate, or have been thought to indicate, acquaintance with any of the books of the New Testament. Beyond the appointment of the Committee, the Society has no responsibility whatever for the work, and the judgements which are expressed belong to the Committee alone. The present volume deals with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, in which information is scanty, and traces of dependence on the Scriptures of the New Testament are most open to doubt. The editors are quite aware that their judgements may not command universal assent ; but they may claim at least that these judgements have been carefully formed, sometimes after considerable hesitation, by men who are not without practice in this kind of investigation. It is hoped that the book will not only provide the student with useful material, but afford him some helpful direction in reaching his own conclusions.

The first duty of the Committee was to agree upon a plan. It was decided to arrange the books of the New Testament in four classes, distinguished by the letters A, B, C, and D, according to the degree of probability of their use by the several authors. Class A includes those books about which there can be no reasonable doubt, either because they are expressly mentioned, or because there are other certain indications of their use. Class B comprises those books the use of which, in the judgement of the editors, reaches a high degree of probability. With class C we come to a lower degree of probability ; and in class D are placed those books which may possibly be referred to, but in regard to which the evidence appeared too uncertain to allow any reliance to be placed upon it. Under each author the books of the New Testament are

arranged in accordance with these four classes, except that the Gospels are reserved for a section by themselves after the other writings. In dealing with the Gospels the following division has been observed :—First are presented references to the Synoptical Gospels severally; secondly, references to Synoptical material, where the individual Gospel cannot be distinguished—cases to which the above classification seems inapplicable; thirdly, references to the Fourth Gospel; and lastly, references to apocryphal Gospels. Under each class (A, B, C, D) the books follow one another in the present canonical order; and the passages cited under each head are arranged in the order of probability, according to the editors' judgement, and marked a, b, c, d—symbols to which an explanation will apply similar to that which has been given in connexion with the capital letters.

The quotations are printed in parallel columns. The first presents the quotation containing the supposed reference. The second exhibits the corresponding passage, or passages, in the New Testament, quoted from the text approved by our English Revisers, with references, when necessary, to various readings. A third column, when required, contains illustrative passages from the LXX (the text of Dr. Swete's edition being used) or from other writings. Underneath the several quotations are comments, calling attention to special points, or indicating briefly the grounds of the editors' judgement. In class D references are given without the text in several instances, because, though they have been cited in evidence, they did not appear to deserve serious recognition. In addition to these a great many passages were examined by the Committee, but are not mentioned because the Committee came to the conclusion that there was no serious ground for arguing that they showed the influence of the New Testament.

In the execution of the foregoing plan, books were in the first instance allotted to the several members of the Committee, in order that each might make a preliminary list of passages, with his own judgements and comments. These were carefully revised, passage by passage, at meetings of the Committee. They were then arranged in what was intended to be their

permanent form. Finally, they were once more revised by the Committee ; and in many cases previous judgements were again brought under consideration. It is obvious that the distinction of classes, especially between b and c, must often have involved delicate and doubtful deliberation ; for it is extremely difficult, where several are collaborating, to retain at all times the same standard of judgement. But even if in many cases other scholars may arrive at different conclusions, the Committee hope that their labours will not be wholly without fruit in this important field of Biblical study.

The task of final redaction and the furnishing of special introductions were in each case left to the member of Committee to whom the preliminary work had fallen ; so that the full consensus of the Committee must be taken to apply only to the degrees of probability assigned to the apparent traces of given New Testament books in the authors examined.

A list of the Committee is appended, in which is indicated the particular work for which each member is specially responsible—

Barnabas : J. V. Bartlet, M.A., D.D., Senior Tutor of Mansfield College.

Didache : K. Lake, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Leyden.

I Clement : A. J. Carlyle, M.A., Lecturer in Theology of University College.

Ignatius : W. R. Inge, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College.

Polycarp : P. V. M. Benecke, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College.

Hermas : J. Drummond, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Manchester College.

II Clement : (Gospels) J. V. Bartlet ; (St. Paul's Epistles) A. J. Carlyle ; (Catholic Epistles) P. V. M. Benecke.

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THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

INTRODUCTION.

Standard of Accuracy in quotation. Our author shares the Alexandrinism so widely diffused in the first century A.D. throughout the eastern Mediterranean. This has its effect on his methods in dealing with the O. T., which he uses through the LXX, known to him in a text which approximates to our *Codex Alexandrinus* (but reads also at times as if revised from the Hebrew)¹. In general ‘the O. T. is quoted even more profusely than in the Epistle of Clement, but with less precision. The writer is fairly exact in well-known contexts belonging to the Psalter or the Book of Isaiah ; but elsewhere he appears to trust to memory, and not to concern himself greatly about the words of his author. Even when preceded by a *formula citandi* his citations often wander far from the LXX, although they are clearly based upon it (e. g. Exod. 33¹⁻³ = Barn. vi. 8²). Similar liberties are taken even where the writer mentions the book which he is quoting,’ e. g. πέρας γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ, Καὶ διαθήσομαι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τὰ δικαιώματά μου—‘a sentence which, though it has all the notes of a strict quotation, proves to be a mere summary of Deut. 4¹⁻²³.’ The following comparison of Exod. 33¹⁻³ and Barn. vi. 8 may give some measure of the freedom³ for which we must allow in considering possible N. T. citations or echoes.

Exodus.

καὶ εἰπεν Κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν,
Πορεύον ἀνάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν σὺ καὶ δ
λαός σου . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ὅμοσα
τῷ Ἀθραῷ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ,
λέγων . . . καὶ εἰσάξω σε εἰς γῆν
ρέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι.

(See also Nos. (1) (40) below.)

Barnabas.

ἴδού, τάδε λέγει Κύριος ὁ Θεός·
Εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθήν, ἥν
ὅμοσεν Κύριος τῷ Ἀθραῷ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ
καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε
αὐτήν, γῆν ρέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι.

¹ Swete, *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, 411-413, for this and what follows.

² Comp. vi. 1, where he substitutes the correct gloss τῷ παιδὶ Κυρίου in the phrase ἐγγισάτω μοι, in Isa. 50⁸; and xii. 9, where he boldly adds ὁ νῖὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν to Exod. 17¹⁴.

³ Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, 31 ff., reckons 16 exact, 23 slightly variant, and 47 variant citations of the O. T.

Further we must remember that he freely blends passages from different quarters: e.g. ii. 7 f. = Jer. 7^{22 f.} + Zech. 7¹⁰, 8¹⁷; iv. 7 = Deut. 34²⁸ + 31¹⁸; iv. 8 = Exod. 32⁷ + Deut. 9¹²; cf. ix. 8, xv. 1. The same applies to his quotations from apocryphal books like Enoch and 4 Ezra, which he also cites with the same phrases as introduce Scriptural allusions generally.

The formulae of citation are: λέγει, with δ Θεός or δ Κύριος, ή γραφή, δ προφήτης, expressed or understood; or again with the name of the prophet in question, Moses, David, Isaiah, Daniel, and even Enoch; or most fully λέγει Κύριος (δ Θεός) ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ, ὅρίζει (Κύριος) ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγοντι. Synonymous for λέγει are εἰπε, ἐλάλησε, ἐνετείλατο. Similarly γέγραπται, used even in citing Enoch (iv. 3, xvi. 6), and γεγραμμένης ἐντολῆς (vii. 3). The general result is an absolute doctrine of inspiration, which equates the Divine and the human speaker or writer, and which neglects distinctions between canonical and apocryphal sources. In this connexion reference may be made to vi. 13 λέγει δὲ Κύριος, Ἰδού, ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρώτα (see *Didascalia Apost.* ed. Hauler, 75 ‘Ecce facio prima sicut novissima et novissima sicut prima’: cf. Apoc. 21⁵ Ἰδού, καὶ ποιῶ πάντα, Hipp. in Dan. 4³⁷ ἔσονται γὰρ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρώτα): also to vii. 4, where τι οὖν λέγει ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ is followed by words not found in any other extant writing, though our author has Lev. 16^{7 ff.} in mind in the context. Here the citation seems too definite (ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ coming in between γεγραμμένης ἐντολῆς and πῶς οὖν ἐνετείλατο) to be other than due to some written source, whether apocryphal or a passage that has crept from the margin into the text of a canonical book. The former view is supported by the analogous case in xi. 9 f., see below (40). So in ii. 10 θυσίᾳ τῷ Κυρίῳ καρδίᾳ συντετριψμένη, δοσμῇ εὐώδίᾳ τῷ Κυρίῳ καρδίᾳ δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν, Barnabas has been quoting certain O. T. prophets, and continues in a way which suggests that he has his mind on them still, ἦμὲν οὖν οὕτως λέγει. But while the opening words are substantially those of Ps. 51¹⁷ (θυσίᾳ τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριψμένον, καρδίαν συντετριψμένην, κτλ.), the whole quotation actually comes from the Apocalypse of Adam (cf. Iren. iv. 17. 2). Thus confusion of memory may explain

the case in which *γέγραπται* introduces words found also in our Matthew (see below).

On the whole, then, we have reason to expect that, if Barnabas alludes to any N. T. writings, it will be in a free and glossing way, and that sympathy with its methods and style will be needful to appraise the likelihood attaching to alleged cases of dependence¹. The phenomena in the section on the 'Two ways' are dealt with under the *Didache*.

EPISTLES AND APOCALYPSE

B

Romans

b

(1) Barn. xiii. 7.

τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστεύσας ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραὰμ, πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων δὶ’ ἀκροβυνστίας τῷ Κυρίῳ (GL, Θεῷ ΝC).

Rom. 4^{8, 10 f. (17 f.)}.

τί γάρ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει; Ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην . . . πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; . . . οὐκ ἐν περιτομῇ ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀκροβυνστίᾳ . . . εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων δὶ’ ἀκροβυνστίας.

LXX. Gen. 15⁶ καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβρὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

17^{4 f.} καὶ ἔγω, ἵδοὺ ἡ διαθήκη μου μετὰ σοῦ· καὶ ἔσῃ πατὴρ πλήθους ἐθνῶν· καὶ οὐ κληθήσεται ἔτι τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβράμ, ἀλλ’ ἔσται Ἀβραὰμ τὸ ὄνομά σου· ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε.

In our author's memory the O. T. passages have become

¹ The final estimate of the literary dependence of our epistle cannot be separated from one's theory of its date, and this again involves that of its religious standpoint. In the view of the member of committee specially responsible for its work on Barnabas, it is most probable that the epistle was written under Vespasian (iv. 4 f.), within a very few years of the destruction of the Jewish Temple, the spiritual substitute for which, the Christian Church, is alluded to as in process of being built up (xvi. 10; cf. vii. 11). The standpoint is essentially that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as distinct from other known types of primitive Christianity. For though they differ in their attitude to O. T. ritual, both interpret the 'new Law' and its people under the categories of the old, in such wise that the literal observances of Judaism are regarded as at once fulfilled in essence and superseded by the purely spiritual worship realized in and through Christ. To both, O. T. worthies like Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and David were in the line of heirship of the Promise, but not Israel at large (cf. Heb. 3-4, 11).—J. V. B.

conflated with the comments in Rom. 4; for the phrase *τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας* (by no means an obvious one), especially as qualifying *έθνων* in Barnabas, can hardly be explained otherwise.

d

(2) Barn. xiii. 2-3.

ἀκούσατε οὖν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή . . . Δύνη ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου . . . καὶ δι μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι αἰσθάνεσθαι ὁφεῖλετε . . . ἐπὶ τίνων δέδειχεν ὅτι μείζων ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἡ ἑκεῖνος.

οὐδὲ ὅτι εἴσὶ σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, πάντες τέκνα, ἀλλ᾽ Ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα . . . ἐρρήθη αὐτῇ ὅτι δι μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι καθὼς γέγραπται, Τὸν Ἰακώβ ἡγάπησα, τὸν δὲ Ἡσαῦ ἐμίσησα.

Rom. 9⁷⁻¹³.

Though the passages both turn on the phrase common to them, they use it differently, Barnabas seeing in it a prophecy of the Christian people, Paul citing it simply for the principle of sovereign election. Yet Barnabas often twists what he borrows, and his knowledge of Romans is otherwise probable.

C

Ephesians

d

(3) Barn. vi. 11 ff.

Eph. 2^{10, 21 f., 3¹⁷, 4^{22 ff.}}2 Cor. 5¹⁷, 1 Cor. 3^{16 f.}

ΙΙ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακανίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχήν, ὡς ἀν δὴ ἀναπλάσσοντος αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς. . . . δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐποίησεν λέγει δὲ Κύριος Ἰδού, ποιῶ τὰ ἐσχάτα ὡς τὰ πρώτα.

Comp. xvi. 8 λαβόντες τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ ἐλπίσαντες εἰς τὸ ὅνομα Κυρίου ἐγενόμεθα καιοί, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι (continued below).

6.14 ἵδε οὖν, ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθα, καθὼς

2¹⁰ αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. 4^{22 ff.} ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς . . . τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . , ἀνανεύσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα (cf. 2¹⁵).

Cf. Col. 3^{9 f.} ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . , καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.

Ε 3¹⁷ κατοικήσαι τὸν

2 Cor. 5¹⁷ ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶνὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν· ἰδού, γέγονε καινά (cf. Gal. 6¹⁵).

... λέγει Ἰδού, λέγει Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως
 Κύριος, ἔξελῶ τούτων ... ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν.
 τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας καὶ
 ἐμβαλῶ σταρκίνας· ὅτι
 αὐτὸς ἐν σταρκὶ ἔμελλεν
 φανεροῦσθαι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν
 κατοικεῖν.

15 ναὸς γὰρ ἄγιος,
 ἀδελφοὶ μου, τῷ Κυρίῳ
 τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν
 τῆς καρδίας.

Comp. xvi. 8 (continued)—10 διὸ ἐν τῷ
 κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀλη-
 θῶς ὁ Θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν
 ἡμῶν πᾶσι; ὁ λόγος
 αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως, ...
 αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν προφη-
 τεύων, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν
 κατοικῶν ... τοῦτο ἔστιν
 πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδο-
 μόμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ (see
 also iv. 11).

2²¹ f. (Xρ. Ἰησ.) ἐν
 Ὡ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συν-
 αρμολογουμένη αὔξει εἰς
 ναὸν ἄγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἐν
 Ὡ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνοικοδο-
 μείσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον
 τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν Πνεύματι.

1 Cor 3¹⁶ f. οὐκ οἴδατε
 διτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἔστε, καὶ
 τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ
 ἐν ὑμῖν;

ὅ γάρ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ
 ἄγιος ἔστιν, οἵτινές ἔστε
 ὑμεῖς.

Here the phenomena are most complex, but Ephesians has the advantage over 1 and 2 Corinthians in several ways. (1) The idea of re-creation in Ephesians is really the nearer. The context of 2 Cor. 5¹⁷ (and of Gal. 6¹⁵) gives the phrases a rather specific reference; while dependence on Ephesians explains both Barnabas's passages. (2) Ephesians has κατοικητήριον in close conjunction with ναὸν ἄγιον, as well as κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν (not God, as in 2 Cor. 5¹⁶) —the idea from which Barnabas starts (ἔμελλεν . . . ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν)—and the notion of the spiritual temple as in process of building (cf. Barn. xvi. 10). (3) The mystical idea of Christ indwelling the Saints, or the Church, which Barnabas expands in an emphatic way in §§ 14–16, is most marked in Ephesians (and Colossians), in close connexion with the idea of the Church as the body or πλήρωμα of Christ (Eph. 1²³). This latter thought may even determine the strange turn Barnabas gives to the words of Ps. 41³, viz. ἐν τίνι ὁφθή-
 σομαι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου καὶ δοξασθήσομαι (LXX, πότε ἥξω
 καὶ ὁφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ), as if the Son were
 bodied forth in the Church and so fulfilled as to His glory

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(cf. Eph. 1¹⁸ τίς ἐπλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις), even if *aὐτοῦ* refers strictly to God.

That the ideas underlying these sections of Barnabas are so subtle and inward, points to a source beyond common Christian tradition, and to a knowledge of the Pauline writings themselves.

d

(4) Barn. ii. 1.

ἡμερῶν οὖν οὐσῶν πονηρῶν καὶ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος ἔχοντος τὴν
ἔξουσίαν.

Eph. 5¹⁸, 2².

ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραὶ εἰσιν.
κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἔξουσίας τοῦ
δέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνερ-
γοῦντος ἐν τοῖς νιόῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας.

The first of these parallels is a commonplace of early Christian thought; the latter has parallels in Jewish Apocalyptic, e.g. *Test. Benj.* iii. τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ, cf. *Secrets of Enoch*, xxix. 5. Moreover in Ephesians it is the aerial power or spirit (collectively), not its ruler, to which ἐνεργεῖν belongs.

(5) Barn. iii. 6.

ὁ μακρόθυμος προβλέψας ὡς ἐν
ἀκεραιοσύνῃ πιστεύσει ὁ λαὸς δὲν ἡτοί-
μασεν ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ, προε-
φανέρωσεν ἡμῖν περὶ πάντων.

Eph. 1⁴⁻⁶.

καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ¹
καταβολῆς κόσμου . . ., προορίσας
ἡμᾶς εἰς νιοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
εἰς αὐτόν . . ., εἰς ἐπανον δόξης τῆς
χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἥς ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν
τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ.

Here the resemblances, turning on προβλέψας and ἡτοίμασεν ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ, seem really striking. They can only partly be paralleled from Jewish Apocalyptic¹, which taught that God made the world with a view to His Beloved (People), i.e. faithful Israel. Yet probably ‘the Beloved’ was sometimes applied to Messiah in particular, even in pre-Christian usage (see Charles’s note on *Asc. Isaiae*, i. 4): and so Barnabas uses it himself again in iv. 3, 8.

Hebrews



(6) Barn. v. 5 ff. (xiv. 4, xvi. 9).

5 εἰ ὁ Κύριος ὑπέμεινε παθεῖν
περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, δὲν παντὸς τοῦ

Heb. 1² ff., 2⁹ ff. (12², 13¹²).

12² ὑπέμεινε σταυρόν.
13¹² ἔξω τῆς πύλης ἐπαθε.

¹ E. g. 4 Ezra 6⁵⁸ ‘But we thy people, whom thou has called thy First-born, thy Only-begotten, and thy fervent Lover [? Beloved], are given into their hands.’ Comp. Apoc. of Baruch xiv. 18, with Charles’s note.

κόσμου Κύριος, ὃ ἐπεν δ Θεὸς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, Ποίησωμεν κτλ. . . πῶς οὖν ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπων παθεῖν;

6 αὐτὸς δέ, ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ (ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι), ὑπέμεινεν, ἵνα τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῷ, κτλ.

xiv. 4 δὲ ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας.

xvi. 9 αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικῶν, τοῖς τῷ θανάτῳ δεδουλωμένοις, κτλ.

I²⁻¹³, e. g. σὺ κατ' ἀρχὰς, Κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, κτλ.

2⁹ τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἥλαττωμένον βλέπομεν, Ἰησοῦν, διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου . . . δπως . . . ὑπὲρ παντὸς γενόνται θανάτου.

14 ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παιδία κεκοινωνήκεν αἷματος καὶ σαρκός, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετέσχε τῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου . . .

15 οὐ γὰρ δήποτον ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται . . .

17 ὅθεν ὁφειλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δμοιωθῆναι.

18 (ἵνα) καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, δοσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας.

Apart from the actual phrasing of ἵνα καταργήσῃ . . . δείξῃ, which recalls also 2 Tim. 1¹⁰ (see (19), below), the points of contact between Barnabas and Heb. 2 in particular seem too important to be accidental. The probability of literary dependence on the side of Barnabas becomes enhanced when we consider the relation of Barn. vi. 17-19 also to Heb. 2⁵⁻⁹ (see below), as well as the similar use of the same O. T. quotation, Ps. 21²³, in Barn. vi. 16 and Heb. 2¹² (though the wording differs). Further, Heb. 9^{9, 13, 39} may well suggest Barnabas's ἵνα τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῷ.

(7) Barn. vi. 17-19 (xiv. 5).

ζήσομεν κατακυρεύοντες τῆς γῆς . . . εἰ οὖν οὐ γίνεται τοῦτο νῦν, ἄρα ἡμῖν εἴρηκεν πότε ὅταν καὶ αὐτὸι τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθῆκης κυρίου γενέσθαι.

Cf. xiv. 5 ἐφανερώθη δὲ (sc. ὁ Κύριος) ἵνα κάκείνοι (the Jews) τελειωθῶσιν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθῆκην Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν.

Heb. 2⁵⁻⁹.

. . . πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ (sc. ἀνθρώπου) . . . νῦν δὲ οὕπω δρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα· τὸν δὲ . . . Ἰησοῦν . . .

Here note the ideas of (1) lordship over things earthly as the destiny of man, (2) its delayed but certain realization, (3) when union with the archetypal Heritor (ὸν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων, Heb. 1², cf. Barn. xiv) shall reach its consummation (the

τέλος of the type, x. 11 fin.); and elsewhere the idea that all this was the *rationale* of the Divine Heritor's own 'manifestation' and especially His sufferings: see (6). Nothing short of literary dependence seems to explain the appearance in Barnabas, alone in its age, of so much distinctive of Hebrews, especially as this state of lordship is also conceived as the true Sabbath Rest in a new world (ch. xv, cf. x. 11; Heb. 3¹¹, 18, 4¹, 9–11), on which Jesus has already entered (xv. 9). This idea of ἄλλος κόσμος (xv. 8) was a current Jewish one¹, but seems to come to Barnabas through Hebrews with its οἰκουμένη μέλλοντα (ii. 5) and αἱών μέλλων (vi. 5). Further the prominence of the ideas in κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου and διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκην Κυρίου Ιησοῦ seems to point to Hebrews, which contains more on these lines than all the rest of the N. T.: e.g. Heb. 1² δν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων (cf. 1⁴), Barn. iv. 3 ἵνα ταχύνῃ ὁ ἡγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἥξῃ; Heb. 7²² κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἔγγυος Ιησοῦς (μεσίτης, 8⁶, 9¹⁵, 12²⁴), Barn. iv. 8 ἵνα ἡ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Ιησοῦ (διαθήκη) ἐνκατασφραγισθῇ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν (cf. xiii. 1), xiv. 5 δις εἰς τοῦτο ἡτοιμάσθη, ἵνα αὐτὸς φανεῖς . . . διάθηται ἐν ἡμῖν διαθήκην λόγῳ; Heb. 6¹⁷ τοῖς κληρονόμοις τῆς ἐπαγγελίας (1¹⁴), 9¹⁵ ὅπως . . . τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν² λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας, Barn. xiii. 6 τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον . . . τῆς διαθήκης κληρονόμουν, xiv. 4 αὐτὸς δὲ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἔδωκεν (τὴν διαθήκην) εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας. Indeed Heb. 9^{11–15} seems to underlie Barnabas's whole soteriology: cf. (11).

d

(8) Barn. iv. 9–10, 13.

διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν γάρ ὡφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν . . . , ὡς πρέπει νίοις Θεοῦ, ἀντιστῶμεν . . . Μή καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐδύνοντες μοιάζετε ὡς ἡδη δεδικαωμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συνζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος . . .

Heb. 4¹, 10^{24 f.}

φοβηθῶμεν οὖν μὴ ποτε, καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ, δοκῆ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑστερηκέναι.

10^{24 f.} κατανοῶμεν ἀλλήλους εἰς παροξυσμὸν ἀγάπης καὶ καλῶν ἔργων, μὴ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν, καθὼς ἔθος τισίν, ἀλλὰ παρα-

¹ Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 177 f.² Ἐπαγγελία very frequent in Hebrews, also in Barn. v. 6, vi. 17, xv. 7, xvi. 9 (conjoined with κλῆσις, cf. iv. 14). Observe too the similar use of τέλειος (iv. 3, 11, v. 11, viii. 1, xiii. 7), τελειοῦν (vi. 19, xiv. 5), to express the final or absolute stage of a thing.

Ι 3 ἵνα μήποτε ἐπαναπαύσμενοι ὡς κλητοὶ ἐπικαθυπνώσωμεν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις καλοῦντες, καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσῳ βλέπετε ἐγγίζουσαν τὴν ἡμέραν.

Note the points in common : (1) the danger of a false sense of security amid temptations against which strenuous vigilance alone can prevail, (2) the value of frequent fellowship and stimulus to good works.

(9) Barn. v. 1.

εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Κύριος παραδοῦναι τὴν σάρκα εἰς καταφθοράν, ἵνα τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀγνισθῶμεν, ὃ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αὐτοῦ¹. γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ (Isa. 53^{5, 7}) . . .

Heb. 12²⁴, 13¹² (1 Pet. 1²).

καὶ αἷματι ῥαντισμοῦ κρείττον λαλοῦντι παρὰ τὸν Ἀβελ.

Ι 3¹² δὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦς, ἵνα ἀγιάσῃ διὰ τοῦ ιδίου αἵματος τὸν λαόν, ἔξω τῆς πύλης ἐπαθε.

Cf. 1³ καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος, also 9¹⁵.

1 Pet. 1² ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις . . . ἐν ἀγιασμῷ Πνεύματος, εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Here as regards 1 Pet. 1² all depends on the reading adopted ; and as **κ** is quite as likely to be right as C and a version, we must leave the phrase in question out of account. On the other hand the idea of ‘sanctification’ τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν (see also viii. 1 ῥαντίζειν . . . τὸν λαόν, ἵνα ἀγνίζωνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν; cf. Heb. 1³, 2¹¹, 9²², 10¹⁸), achieved by blood of sprinkling (13^{11 f.}; cf. 9¹³, 19, 21, 10²²), is far more characteristic of Hebrews than of 1 Peter. Hence this passage also must be added to those suggesting the influence of Hebrews (cf. Barn. v. 5 f., 10 f., viii. 1, 3).

(10) Barn. vi. 19.

ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι.

Heb. 6¹.

ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα.

Cf. 12²⁸ πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων.

The idea of *τελειότης* underlying these passages is similar, and is one highly characteristic of Hebrews ; see 2¹⁰ διὰ παθημάτων τελειώσαι, 5⁹, 7²⁸ νίδον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον, 9⁹, 10^{1, 14}, 11⁴⁰. It corresponds to δικαιωθῆναι in Barn. iv. 10, xv. 7.

¹ v. l. ἐν τῷ ῥαντίσματι αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματος, C, cf. Lat. ‘sparsione sanguinis illius.’

(11) Barn. viii. 1 ff., xiv. 4-6.

τίνα δὲ δοκεῖτε τύπον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐντέταλται τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προσφέρειν δάμαλιν . . . καὶ οὕτως ῥαντίζειν τὰ παιδία καθ' ἓν τὸν λαόν, ἵνα ἀγνί-
ζωνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν . . . δόμσχος
ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔστιν . . . οἱ ῥαντίζοντες
παιδεῖς οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν
ἀφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ τὸν ἀγνισμὸν
τῆς καρδίας.

xiv. 5-6 ἐφανερώθη δέ, ἵνα . . .
ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκην
Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν, ὃς εἰς τοῦτο
ἡτοιμάσθη ἵνα αὐτὸς φανείσ . . . διά-
θηται ἐν ἡμῖν διαθήκην λόγῳ.

xiv. 4. Μωϋσῆς θεράπων ὁν ἔλαβεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν εἰς λαὸν
κληρονομίας, δὲ ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας.

Heb. 9^{18 ff.}, 3^{5 f.}

εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων
καὶ σποδὸς δαμάλεως . . . ῥαντίζουσα
. . . ἀγιάζει . . . πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα
τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . καθαριεῖ τὴν συνεί-
δησιν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων . . .

¹⁵ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καυῆς
μεσίτης ἔστιν, ὅπως, θανάτου γενο-
μένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ
πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων, τὴν ἐπαγ-
γείαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς
αἰώνιου κληρονομίας.

Cf. 1²⁴ διαθήκης νέας μεσίτη
Ἰησοῦ.

3^{5 f.} καὶ Μωσῆς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ
τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Θεοῦ) ὡς
θεράπων . . . Χριστὸς δὲ ὡς υἱὸς ἐπὶ
τὸν οἴκον αὐτοῦ· οὐδὲ οἰκός ἐσμεν
ἡμεῖς.

Here, no doubt, there are elements peculiar to Barnabas, especially certain ritual details in viii. 1. Still he lays emphasis on the very points of contact between the Old and New Covenants which Hebrews also sets in relief, i.e. the ritual of the Heifer and the Covenant bequeathed by Jesus as the Son and Heir, as distinct from Moses who was only God's θεράπων in all his action (quite another turn being given to the idea 'servant of God' than that in Exod. 14³¹, Num. 12⁸, Joshua 1²). The probability of dependence on Hebrews is moreover increased by a like emphasis on the Rest of God (see below).

(12) Barn. xv.

Heb. 4¹⁻¹¹.

Barnabas is concerned primarily with the *hallowing* of the Sabbath, as something to find fulfilment in Christianity, as distinct from Judaism, in the Messianic Age soon to dawn. But he may have got his idea of its rest, e.g. τότε καλῶς καταπανόμενοι ἀγιάσομεν αὐτὴν . . . αὐτοὶ δικαιωθέντες καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν . . . αὐτοὶ ἀγιασθέντες πρῶτον, from the treatment of σαββατισμὸς τῷ λαῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ in Heb. 4, e.g. 10^{f.} See further (7).

[Barn. i. 8, iv. 9 a, xxi. 2, 7 and Heb. 12²², 18^{f.}, present some similarities in the writer's attitude to his readers.]

On the whole, then, the passages severally marked as *d* seem to amount cumulatively to *c*, as suggesting that Hebrews influenced Barnabas's thinking and language in various ways. Even Barnabas's ἐν σαρκὶ φανεροῦσθαι and its relation to Christ's Passion has its parallel in Heb. 9²⁶ εἰς ἀθέτησιν ἀμαρτίας διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ πεφανέρωται, read in the light of 2¹⁴, 5⁷ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, and 10²⁰.

D

1 Corinthians

d

(13) Barn. iv. 11.

λέγει γάρ ἡ γραφή· Οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ ἔαντοις καὶ ἔνώπιον ἔαντῶν ἐπιστήμονες, γενώμεθα πνευματικοί, γενώμεθα ναὸς τέλειος τῷ Θεῷ.

οὐκ ἡδυνήθην λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν ὡς πνευματικοῖς· . . . οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε· . . . εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν . . . μωρὸς γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σοφός· . . . γέγραπται γάρ (Job 5¹⁸; Ps. 94¹¹).

Here the conjunction of ideas at first seems striking, because self-sufficiency, unspirituality, and God's true temple, do not obviously suggest each other; and the citation of very similar passages from the O. T. perhaps adds to the appearance of dependence. Yet on closer examination it appears that Barnabas means by πνευματικός that obedience to God's ἐντολαί as a whole which he goes on to demand, the opposite of drowsing in sins; so that in fact it is the same as ἀγαθός in § 12.

2 Corinthians

d

(14) Barn. iv. 11 f.

μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . 'Ο Κύριος ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρινεῖ τὸν κόσμον' ἔκαστος καθὼς ἐποίησεν κομισταῖς· ἐὰν δὲ ἀγαθός, δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ πονηρός, δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προσερχεται αὐτοῦ.

2 Cor. 5¹⁰ (1 Pet. 1¹⁷).

τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἔκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς ἀπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθόν, εἴτε φαῦλον. εἰδότες οὖν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνθρώπους πειθόμεν.

1 Pet. 1¹⁷ καὶ εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἔκαστον ἔργον, ἐν φόβῳ . . . ἀναστράφητε.

Against the obvious resemblance in word and idea to 2 Corinthians must be set the reference to a man's recompense becoming patent before his eyes (cf. Isa. 58⁸, cited in iii. 4),

which rather suggests some other source, possibly known to both. This view gains some support from 1 Pet. 1¹⁷, which affords a close parallel to Barnabas's ὁ Κύριος ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρινεῖ, a sentiment echoed in Rom. 2¹¹ οὐ γάρ ἐστι προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. It is to be noted, too, that in the context of all these writers 'fear' of God is present (as in a similar passage in Hipp. περὶ τῆς συντελείας, 39).

*Colossians***d**

(15) Barn. vi. 12 f.

ὡς λέγει τῷ νιῷ· Ποιήσωμεν κατ'
εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' δροίσων ἡμῶν τὸν
ἀνθρωπὸν . . . Δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπ'
ἔσχατων ἐποίησεν λέγει δὲ Κύριος·
'Ιδού, ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρώτα.

Col. 3⁹ f.

ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἀνθρω-
πον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινού-
μενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ
κτίσαντος αὐτοῦ.

The common reference to renewal *κατ' εἰκόνα* can count for little in view of the different contextual ideas: see also (3).

(16) Barn. xii. 7.

Col. 1¹⁶ f.

ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις (sc.
the Brazen Serpent) τὴν δόξαν
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, διτὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς
αὐτόν.

τὰ πάντα δὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν
ἔκπισται· καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων
καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε.

It is to be observed that the scope of the words common to the two is in Barnabas much narrower, viz. typological, διτὶ πάντα ὁ πατὴρ φανεροῖ περὶ τοῦ νιοῦ Ἰησοῦ, as he says just below. Yet he may be echoing a striking phrase, for all that.

*I Timothy***d**

(17) Barn. v. 9.

I Tim. 1¹⁵ f.

τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους . . . δητα
ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα
δείξῃ διτὶ οὐκ ἥλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους
ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλούς.

πιστὸς δὲ λόγος . . . , διτὶ Χριστὸς
Ἰησοῦς ἥλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀμαρ-
τωλοὺς σῶσαι—ῶν πρώτος εἰμι ἐγώ·
ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἥλειθην, ἵνα ἐν ἐμοὶ
πρώτῳ ἐνδείξηται Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὴν
ἀπασαν μακροθυμίαν . . .

The relation of Barnabas's οὐκ ἥλθον, κτλ., to our Synoptics is discussed under (31). But the application of this principle to Apostles in particular, as palmary proof (*ἔνδειξις*) of the Saviour's grace—a bold idea—is so parallel to I Tim. 1¹⁵ f. as to suggest that the latter prompted Barnabas's thought.

(18) Barn. v. 6.

—ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι—

I Tim. 3¹⁶.
διμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς
εὐσεβείας μυστήριον—ὅς ἐφανερώθη
ἐν σαρκὶ . . .

I Tim. 3¹⁶ certainly affords the most striking N.T. parallel to the recurring phrase in Barnabas. But as it is itself probably quoting a current liturgical form, literary dependence cannot be pressed either way: see also (19).

2 Timothy

d

(19) Barn. v. 6.

αὐτὸς δέ, ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ—ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι—ἵπεινεν.

2 Tim. 1¹⁰.(χάριν τὴν . . .) φανερωθεῖσαν δὲ
νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτῆρος
ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καταργήσαντος
μὲν τὸν θάνατον φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωὴν
καὶ ἀφθαρούσαν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.Comp. I Tim. 3¹⁶ ὃς ἐφανερώθη
ἐν σαρκὶ.I Pet. 1²⁰.φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν
χρόνων δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς
εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

In both 2 Timothy and 1 Peter we have the conjunction of two ideas prominent in Barn. v. 6. The degree of likeness, however, to 2 Timothy is greater, and is supported by 1 Timothy, though there is some additional evidence that Barnabas used 1 Peter; see (23), (24). As regards the phrase *ἐν σαρκὶ φανεροῦσθαι* in Barnabas, its frequency (see vi. 7, 9, 14, xii. 10, cf. xiv. 5) calls for special notice. Its occurrence in I Tim. 3¹⁶, in what looks like a rhythmical hymn (Eph. 5^{19 f.}; Col. 3^{16 f.}) or liturgical form, implies that the idea of the incarnation as a 'manifestation' (*ἐπιφάνεια*) of a Divine Saviour was fairly general (see Heb. 5⁷, 9²⁶, cf. 1 Pet. 1²⁰; 2 Tim. 1¹⁰; Titus 2¹¹) in the later apostolic age, long before the Fourth Gospel appeared. Such a usage in Barnabas's region may explain the hold the idea has on him. But the conjunction in Barnabas of the two ideas blended in the latter half of 2 Tim. 1¹⁰ is striking, and suggests literary connexion, unless here also the same holds as is probable in *ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθῆναι*.

(20) Barn. vii. 2.

εἰ οὖν ὁ νιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁν Κύριος καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

■ Tim. 4¹.

διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μέλλοντος κρί-
ζην ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

Here in both cases a common formula of Christain faith seems to be cited; cf. 1 Pet. 4⁵; Acts 10⁴²; Polyc. *ad Phil.* ii. 1; 2 Clem. i. 1.

*Titus***d**

(21) Barn. i. 3, 4, 6.

ἄλλθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένου ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς Κυρίου πνεύμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς . . . ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ (C ἐπ' ἐλπίδι) . . . ζωῆς ἐλπίς, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος πίστεως ὑμῶν.

Titus 3^{5 ff.}, 1².

ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λοντροῦ παλεγ-
γενεσιν καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος ἀγίου, οὐ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἵνα δικαιωθήτες τῇ ἐκείνου χάριτε
κληρονόμοι γενηθῶμεν κατ' ἐλπίδα
ζωῆς αἰώνιου.

1² ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰώνιου.

The parallelism of language is considerable, as also of thought. To Barnabas the presence of salvation as evidenced by the effusion of the Spirit; while, just below, he refers to 'hope of life' eternal, in the phrase ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ—a phrase characteristic of Titus (here, and in 1² ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰώνιον, to which C seems assimilated in Barn. i. 4). Yet this may well be part of his own way of thinking, in view of i. 6, cf. iv. 8 ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ.

(22) Barn. xiv. 5 f.

ὅς εἰς τοῦτο ἡτοιμάσθη, ἵνα αὐτὸς φανεῖς τὰς ἥδη δεδαπανημένας ὑμῶν καρδίας τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ παραδεδομένας τῇ τῆς πλάνης ἀνομίᾳ λυτρωσάμενος . . . λυτρωσάμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ σκό-
τους ἐτοιμάσαι ἑαυτῷ λαὸν ἄγιον.

Titus 2¹⁴.

ὅς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα λυτρώσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας καὶ καθαρίσῃ ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον,
ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων.

Cf. v. 7 αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἐτοιμάζων.

Here the idea of Christ preparing for Himself a special people, by redeeming it from ἀνομίᾳ, is present in both writings in rather similar language, and so far strengthens the presumption created by (21).

*1 Peter***d**

(23) Barn. v. 5, 6, vi. 7.

πῶς οὖν ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπων παθεῖν; μάθετε, οἱ προ-

i Pet. 1^{10 f.}

περὶ ἣς σωτηρίας ἐξεξήγησαν καὶ
ἐξηρεύνησαν προφῆται οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς

φῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ, διτὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι, ὑπέμεινεν, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῷ, κτλ.

Cf. vi. 7 ἐν σαρκὶ οὖν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος φανεροῦσθαι καὶ πάσχειν, προεφανερώθη τὸ πάθος. Cf. vii. 7, xii. 8, 10.

In Barn. v. 5, 6 the parallelism with 1 Peter is twofold; (1) prophecy foreshadows Christ's passion and its sequel, and (2) this is due to grace proceeding from Christ Himself. (1) is an idea native to Barnabas's own thought (see the parallels); but (2) is noteworthy.

(24) Barn. vi. 2-4.

καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης [Isa. 50^{8 f.} has been quoted], ἐπεὶ ὡς λίθος ἰσχυρὸς ἐτέθη εἰς συντριβήν· Ἰδού, ἐμβαλῶ κτλ. (Isa. 28¹⁶).

ι Pet. 2⁶⁻⁸.
διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ, Ἰδού, τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον κτλ. (Isa. 28¹⁶).

Though Barnabas and 1 Peter cite the same passage from Isaiah (with textual variation) and Psalm 118²², they use them rather differently, as is shown by Barnabas's *εἰς συντριβήν*, probably suggested by Isa. 8¹⁵ *καὶ συντριβήσονται*. Comp. Rom. 9³³ for the idea of Jesus as ὁ λίθος τοῦ προσκόμματος of Isa. 28¹⁶.

Other seeming parallels have been treated in other connexions: 1 Pet. 1² under (9), 1¹⁷ under (14), 1²⁰ under (19).

Considered, but set aside.

1 Cor. 3^{16 f.}, cf. 6¹⁹; see (3).

Gal. 4^{21 ff.}; Barn. xiii (where Isaac's sons, not Abraham's, are the types).

1 Tim. 5^{24 f.}; Barn. iv. 12.

2 Pet. 3⁸ cannot be cited as affecting Barn. xv. 4 *αὐτὸς δέ μοι μαρτυρεῖ* Ἰδού, ἡμέρα Κυρίου (v. 1. σήμερον ἡμέρα) ἔσται ὡς χιλιαὶ ἔτη; for such exegesis of Ps. 90⁴ seems to have become a commonplace of Judaism (cf. Charles's note on *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, xxxiii. 1, 2).

1 John 4², cf. 2 John 7, cannot be treated as influencing

Barn. v. 10 f. ἥλθεν ἐν σαρκὶ, especially in view of what is said under (19): see also (41).

The greeting in Barn. xxi. 9 recalls several N. T. epistles. 'Ο Κύριος τῆς δόξης (see 1 Cor. 2⁸; James 2¹, also Acts 7² ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δόξης, cf. Ps. 28³) καὶ πάσης χάριτος finds its most striking parallel in 1 Pet. 5¹⁰ ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πάσης χάριτος, ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ. But the similar thought in 2 Cor. 1³ suggests that here too it is a common fund that is being drawn on by all; while the μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, found also in Gal. 6¹⁸; Phil. 4²³; Philem. 25, may be a recognized epistolary phrase.

UNCLASSED

Apocalypse

(25) Barn. vi. 13.

Apoc. 21⁵.

λέγει δὲ Κύριος· Ἰδού, ποιῶ τὰ καὶ εἶπεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. θρόνῳ, Ἰδού, καὶ ποιῶ πάντα.

Isa. 43¹⁹ ἵδον ἐγὼ ποιῶ καὶ νῦν ἀνατελεῖ.

That Barnabas, at least, cites an apocryphal source is made highly probable by the *Didascalia* (ed. Haurer, p. 75), 'Nam id dictum est, Ecce facio prima sicut novissima et novissima sicut prima.'

(26) Barn. vii. 9.

Apoc. 1⁷, 1⁸.

ἐπειδὴ ὄφονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἵδον, ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν, τὸν ποδήρη ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ καὶ ὄφεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὁφθαλμός, καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἐροῦσιν'. Οὐχ οὐτός οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἔξεκέντησαν . . . καὶ ἐπιστρέψας εἰδόν . . . ὅμοιον νιῷ ἀνθρώπου, ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη . . .

The main reference in Barnabas is certainly to the situation described in our Gospels; see (37). Moreover common knowledge of Zech. 12¹⁰ (Heb. and LXX cod. Γ) and the reference seen in it by early Christians (cf. John 19³⁷ καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρᾳ γραφῇ λέγει, "Οφονται εἰς δὺν ἔξεκέντησαν") will serve to explain other features common to our two passages. But the substantival use of ποδήρη, found in the N. T. only in Apoc. 1¹³, might suggest that Barnabas's language was unconsciously influenced by this passage also. Yet see Eccl. 27⁸ καὶ ἐνδύσῃ αὐτὸν (τὸ δίκαιον) ὡς ποδήρη δόξης, a passage which also implies that ποδήρης was a word of dignified associations, fitting it for Barnabas's purpose.

(27) Barn. xxi. 3.

Apoc. 22^{10, 12}.

ἔγγυς ὁ Κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθός αὐτοῦ.

δὲ καιρὸς γὰρ ἔγγυς ἐστιν . . . ἵδον
ἔρχομαι ταχὺ καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ.

LXX Isa. 40¹⁰ ἵδον Κύριος, Κύριος (om. κς 2° Ν*ΑQΓ) μετὰ
ἰσχύος ἔρχεται . . . ἵδον ὁ μισθός αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. Here Barnabas,
while not intending an exact quotation, seems to have Isa. 40
in mind. Perhaps his use of ἔγγυς is due to its presence in the
line before, ἔγγυς γὰρ η ἡμέρα κτλ. Comp. 1 Clem. xxxiv. 3
προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν. Ἰδον ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθός αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου
αὐτοῦ, κτλ., and see 1 Clem. (54).

GOSPELS.

(I) The Synoptic Gospels.

Against Barnabas's knowledge of our Synoptic Gospels (and Acts) there is one piece of negative evidence which deserves attention. In xv. 9 he argues, against the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, that the Christian day of glad festival is 'the eighth day,' ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ
φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανούς. Here, quite apart from all disputes as to whether Barnabas's words must needs imply that the Ascension of Jesus, after an act of self-manifestation (*φανερωθεὶς*), was on the self-same Sunday as the Resurrection, we have to consider whether Barnabas would even have used language so ambiguous (to say the least), if he had known any of our Synoptics—unless it were Luke, before Acts (see 1³) had come into his hands. This difficulty must be borne in mind in estimating the final effect of the positive evidence adduced below: see also (31), (33) for other negative indications¹. It tells specially against the view that any Gospel whose authority counted for so little, would be cited with ὡς γέγραπται (29).

Matthew

D

(28) Barn. vii. 3.

Matt. 27¹⁴.

ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἐποίησε οὕτοις

ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς
καὶ χολῆς.Ps. 68²² καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου χολήν, καὶ εἰς τὴν δύναν
μου ἐπότισάν με οὕτοις.

¹ Cunningham, *Epistle of Barnabas*, xciii, cites also the discussion of the Sabbath in ch. xv, where 'we find not the most distant allusion to the narratives of Matt. 12, or the emphatic declarations of vv. 8, 12, of that chapter.'

Matthew alone of the Gospels refers to χολή: but it and Barnabas seem to represent independent traditions influenced by Ps. 68, Barnabas being nearest to its wording (*ποτίζειν, ὅξος*). Further Barnabas must have in view the Synoptic incident in Matt. 27⁴⁸; Mark 15³⁶; (John 19^{29 f.}), not that of Matt. 27³⁴, which preceded the Crucifixion. And in general, Barnabas's handling of the Passion in terms of O. T. types, especially from the Psalms, seems parallel to, rather than dependent on, Matthew's narrative (cf. Luke 23¹¹; Barn. vii. 9 *ἐξουθενεῖν*): see further under John ¹.

(29) Barn. iv. 14.

Matt. 22¹⁴.

προσέχωμεν μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ ἐκλεκτοί. εὑρέθωμεν.

Here we may set aside the idea of direct dependence on 4 Ezra 8³ *πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκτίσθησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ σωθήσονται* (or Greek to that effect). But taken along with 10⁵⁷ σὺ γὰρ μακάριος εἶ ὑπὲρ πολλούς, καὶ κατ' ὄνομα ἐκλήθης παρὰ τῷ Τύψιστῳ καθὼς καὶ ὀλίγοι, this passage points to a familiar maxim, akin to Barnabas's quotation, as lying behind both 8³ and 10⁵⁷. In 8³ it would naturally be adapted to its context, which speaks of God's creative action, cf. 8¹ 'The Most High hath made this world for many, but the world to come for few'—where the same antithesis is implied. In this light, Barnabas and Matthew probably draw on a common source for the saying, whose proverbial character seems proved by its addition to Matt. 20¹⁶ in some copies (CDN Latt. Syrr. Arm. Aeth. Orig.). There, too, Syr. Sin. and Pesh. omit the *γάρ* found in Matt. 22¹⁴, as if it were no part of the familiar maxim. Where it was 'written' we cannot now say. But ὡς *γέγραπται* in Barnabas by no means excludes an apocryphal work; witness λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, of *Enoch* in xvi. 5 (cf. vi. 13). So in xii. 1 an apocryphal dictum, somewhat akin to 4 Ezra 5⁵, is cited with ὅριζει ἐν ἀλλῷ προφήτῃ. Of course the improbability of ὡς *γέγραπται* being used to cite one of our Gospels (a narrative,

¹ Compare Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, 272: 'We know that types and prophecies were eagerly sought out by the early Christians, and were soon collected in a kind of common stock from which every one drew at his pleasure.'

not a ‘prophetic,’ writing), varies in degree as we put Barnabas early or late. On the other hand, Barnabas may have known the maxim in connexion with the parable of the Wedding Feast, and thence derive its exact wording, while yet thinking of it as occurring in a prophetic ‘scripture.’

UNCLASSED

Luke

(30) Barn. v. 9.

ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους τοὺς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξατο, ὅντας ὑπέρ πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους . . .

Luke 5⁸.

ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀμαρτωλός είμι, Κύριε.

Peter’s exclamation might possibly contribute, like 1 Tim. 1^{15 f.}, to suggest Barnabas’s turn of thought; see (17), (31).

(II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(31) Barn. v. 9.

Matt. 9^{11, 13}; Mark 2^{16 f.}
(Luke 5³²).

ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους τοὺς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξατο, ὅντας ὑπέρ πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἥλθεν καλέσας δικαιούς ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλούς, τότε ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι νιὸν Θεοῦ.

ἐλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, Διατί (ὅτι) μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει . . . ; ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας εἶπεν . . . οὐ (γάρ) ἥλθον καλέσαι δικαιούς ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλούς.

This points to knowledge of a Logian tradition only partly parallel to the tradition common to our Synoptics; for the inference as to the sinful character of the *Apostles* is excluded by the context of all three Synoptists (including Luke, who adds *εἰς μετάνοιαν*), as well as by the general impression which they convey. That the saying, in a more or less detached form, was a familiar *λόγος* among Christians, is both likely and is implied by 1 Tim. 1¹⁵ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἥλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀμαρτωλὸν σώσαι (see further under (17)): compare the way Barnabas continues, εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἥλθεν ἐν σαρκὶ, πῶς ἀν ἐσώθησαν οἱ ἀνθρώποι βλέποντες αὐτόν. That there was no basis for Barnabas’s idea in any apocryphal writing is so far proved by Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 63, where he traces a similar suggestion to the passage in Barnabas.

(32) Barn. v. 11.

οὐκοῦν διεῖ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ἐν σαρκὶ ἡλθεν, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀνακεφαλαιώσῃ τοῖς διώξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτοῦ. οὐκοῦν εἰς τοῦτο ὑπέμεινεν.

Matt. 23³⁴ f. (Luke 11⁴⁹ f.).

διὰ τοῦτο, ἴδού, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς προφήτας . . . ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἔκχυνόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . .

The general idea is the same, though not its exact application.

(33) Barn. v. 12.

λέγει γάρ δι Θεὸς τὴν πληγὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅταν πατάξωσιν τὸν ποιμένα ἑαυτῶν, τότε ἀπολέίται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμῆνος.

Matt. 26³¹; Mark 14²⁷.

γέγραπται γάρ, Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμῆνος.

Cod. A of LXX has all the textual agreements here presented. As the application in Barnabas (*ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν*, sc. the Jews) is quite foreign to Matthew and Mark, it looks as if he were unaware of any setting such as theirs.

(34) Barn. vi. 6.

Matt. 27³⁵; Mark 15²⁴;
Luke 23³⁴.

The casting of lots on Christ's garments is common to all our Gospels (including John 19²⁴). Barnabas quotes Ps. 21 for it and further Messianic touches.

(35)

Barn. vi. 11.

ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαυίσας ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἐποίησεν ὑμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχήν, ὡς ἀν δὴ ἀναπλάσσοντος αὐτοῦ ὑμᾶς . . .

Is the clause *ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχήν* due merely to the 'parable' which Barnabas sees in the promise as to entrance into 'a land of milk and honey'; or is it only in the light of the idea of Christians as childlike in heart (cf. viii. 1, 3) that he perceives the parable as latent in this phrase? If the latter, then one of Christ's *logia* seems presupposed, e. g. ἀφετε τὰ παιδία . . . τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ (Mark 10¹⁴; Luke 18¹⁶, cf. Matt. 19¹⁴), which gains special emphasis in Mark and Luke by the added words, 'Αμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν' (cf. also Matt. 18³).

(36)

Barn. vii. 3: see (37).

(37) Barn. vii. 9.

... ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν τότε
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδῆρη ἔχοντα τὸν
κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ ἐροῦσιν,
Οὐχ οὖτός ἐστιν ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώ-
σαμεν ἔξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακεντή-
σαντες καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες; ἀλλθῶς οὗτος
ἥν ὁ τότε λέγων ἑαυτὸν νίὸν Θεοῦ
εἴναι.

Matt. 27²⁸; Mark 15¹⁷.Matt. 26^{63 f.}; Mark 14^{61 f.};
Luke 22^{69 f.}

As to the incident of the 'red robe,' it forms part of the Synoptic tradition (see also John 19²): the agreement between Barnabas and Matthew in the use of *κόκκινος* (Mark *πορφύραν*, John *ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν*) is due to Barnabas's reference to *τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον* just above. As to the assertion of Divine Sonship, the reference to the Synoptic incident at the hearing before the Sanhedrin is manifest; note the *τότε* and the implicit reference to the prophecy of a regal Return (Matt. 26⁶⁴, ||). The descriptive participles *ἔξουθενήσαντες* (= *ἐμπαί-
ξαντες*: see Matt. 27²⁹, 31, 41; Mark 15²⁰, 31; Luke 22⁶³, 23³⁶, in
the light of Luke 23¹¹), *κατακεντήσαντες*, *ἐμπτύσαντες*, refer simply
to the type of occurrence seen in Matt. 27²⁸⁻³⁰; Mark 15¹⁷⁻²⁰,
prior to the crucifixion and so without reference to John
19³⁴⁻³⁷: see also (41).

(38)

Barn. vii. 11.

οὗτω, φησίν (sc. ὁ Ἰησοῦς), οἱ θέλοντες με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀψασθαί μου
τῆς βασιλείας, διφεύλουσιν θλίβοντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

These words simply state in a dramatic form (cf. vii. 5) the moral of what goes before, viz. the allegory of the Red Wool amid the Thorns. They are no traditional *logion* of Jesus, falling outside our Synoptic tradition: cf. Matt. 16²⁴, ||. For *φησίν* = 'He means,' see x. 3 ff., 7 f., xi. 11, cf. vi. 9, xi. 8.

(39) Barn. xii. 10.

ἐπεὶ οὖν μέλλουσιν λέγειν ὅτι ὁ
Χριστὸς νίος ἐστιν Δαυίδ, αὐτὸς προ-
φητεύει Δ., φοβούμενος καὶ συνίων
τὴν πλάνην τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν* Εἶπεν ἦ
Κύριος . . . Καὶ πάλιν λέγει οὕτως
‘Ησαῖας (45¹) . . . “Ιδε πῶς Δ. λέγει
αὐτὸν κύριον καὶ νιὸν οὐ λέγει.

Matt. 22⁴¹⁻⁴⁵; Mark 12³⁵⁻³⁷;
Luke 20⁴¹⁻⁴⁴.

τίνος νίος ἐστι; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ,
Τοῦ Δαβὶδ. λέγει αὐτοῖς, Πῶς οὖν
Δαβὶδ ἐν Πνεύματι κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ,
λέγων, Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος . . . ὑπο-
κάτω¹ τῶν ποδῶν σου; εἰ οὖν Δ. καλεῖ
αὐτὸν κύριον, πῶς νιὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστι;

¹ ὑποπόδιον Luke (Mark ΝΑΛ)

Here the use of Ps. 110¹ is quite parallel, down to the application which concludes the argument. Textually Barnabas agrees with the LXX (Alexandrine: B *deest*) in ὑποπόδιον, where Matthew and Mark (BD) have ὑποκάτω.

(III) The Fourth Gospel.

UNCLASSED

(40) Barn. vi. 3.

John 6⁵¹, cf. 58.

εἴτα τί λέγει; Καὶ ὅς ἐλπίσει ἐπ' ἔαν τις φάγῃ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου,
αὐτὸν ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰώνα. ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰώνα.

v. 1. ὁ πιστεύων εἰς, cf. LXX.

Isa. 28¹⁸ καὶ ὁ πιστεύων (ἐπ' αὐτῷ,
NAQ) οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ.

Barn. viii. 5 ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία
Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζήσονται εἰς τὸν
αἰώνα.

ix. 2 τίς ἐστιν ὁ θέλων ζῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰώνα; Ps. 33¹³ ὁ θέλων
ζωῆν.

xi. 10 καὶ ὃς ἀν φάγη ἐξ αὐτῶν (sc. δένδρων), ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰώνα
(as from a 'prophet' influenced by Ezek. 47¹⁻¹²), interpreted
in § 11 as meaning ὃς ἀν ἀκούσῃ τούτων λαλούμενων [the words
connected with Baptism] καὶ πιστεύσῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰώνα.

Compare Gen. 3²² καὶ νῦν μή ποτε . . . λάβῃ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς
ζωῆς καὶ φάγη, καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰώνα.

Apoc. 2⁷ τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς . . .
22² ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, also 14, 19.

Barnabas is clearly haunted by the phrase ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰώνα, which he uses to gloss other phrases of the LXX in vi. 3, ix. 2, (xi. 10). But whether he got it from Gen. 3²², the *Psalms of Solomon*, xiv. 2, or rather from the apocryphal 'prophet' seemingly cited in xi. 9-11 (as his use of it in connexion with ξύλον, especially in xi. 6 f. and 10, rather suggests: cf. Apoc. 2⁷, &c.), or again from current Christian usage (see Eccl. 37²⁶, cf. Wisd. 5¹⁵), is obscure. In any case he seems independent of John; for he makes no allusion to Jesus as ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς.

(41) Barn. xi. 1 ff., 8.

ζητήσωμεν δὲ εἰ ἐμέλησεν τῷ Κυρίῳ προφανερῶσαι περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ (then quotations, especially Ps. 1³⁻⁶) . . . αὐτοθάνεσθε πᾶς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄρισεν· τοῦτο γάρ λέγει, μακάριοι οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἀπίσταντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν μισθὸν λέγει ‘ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ’ . . .

John 19³⁴.

καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.

Barnabas's treatment of the Water and the Cross (not Blood, as in John) is quite independent, being connected in his own mind with the ξύλον and ὕδατα in Ps. 1. Indeed the treatment of the Blood and the Water in John 19³⁴, 1 John 5⁶⁻⁸ ὁ ἔλθων δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἷματος, is so different that, had Barnabas known the Johannine writings, he could hardly have written as he does.

(42) Barn. xii. 7.

John 3^{14 f.}

The handling of the type of the Brazen Serpent is so different that, taken by itself, it 'makes against rather than for the theory of acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel' (Rendall, ad loc.).

On the whole, in spite of their affinities in 'the deeper order of conceptions,' to which Keim in particular has called attention (cf. Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, 270 ff.), we must regard Barnabas as unacquainted with the Fourth Gospel. Its Logos conception is one upon which he would be almost sure to seize, with much else to his anti-Judaic purpose. Rather it looks as if Barnabas and this Gospel shared to some degree in a common mode of thought touching Eternal Life and feeding upon words of Life—a mode of thought visible also in the Eucharistic prayers of the *Didache*.

THE DIDACHE

INTRODUCTION.

THE treatment of apparent quotations from Scripture in the *Didache* is rendered difficult by the composite character of the document. It is impossible to treat it as an homogeneous whole, but it is hard to decide what strata are to be recognized in its composition.

It has been thought best to adopt the following arrangement, while admitting that the classification is uncertain in several respects.

1. The *Two Ways*, i-vi. In this section no attempt has been made to reconstruct the primitive text from a comparison of the Greek MS. found by Bryennios, the Latin version and the text used in Barnabas—except in the omission of the section *εὐλογεῖτε . . . τῆς διδαχῆς* (i. 3-ii. 1). This is treated separately, as manifestly secondary.

2. The ecclesiastical section, vii. 1-xv. 3.
3. The eschatological section in xvi.
4. The interpolation in the ‘Two Ways,’ i. 3-ii. 1.

The *formulae* which appear to introduce quotations are as follows:—

1. In the *Two Ways*.

Except in the interpolated section (see below) no *formulae* are used.

2. In the *Ecclesiastical section*.

(1) Did. viii. 2 ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ . . .
cf. xv. 3, 4.

(2) Did. ix. 5 εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύριος . . .

3. In the *Eschatological section*.

(1) Did. xvi. 7 ὡς ἐρρέθη . . .

4. In the *Interpolation in the Two Ways* (i. 3-ii. 1).

(1) Did. i. 6 εἴρηται . . . [introducing the saying ‘Ιδρωσάτω ἡ ἀλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χειράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῷς, which cannot be traced to any known source].

I. THE TWO WAYS, I-VI.

There are no certain quotations from or allusions to the Old Testament or to any other documents which can serve as a standard of accuracy in quotation.

ACTS AND EPISTLES.

	D	
<i>Acts</i>	d	
(1) Did. iv. 8.		Acts 4 ³² .
συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι.		οὐδὲ εἴς τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν ἴδιον εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἡνὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπαντὰ κοινά.

The resemblance is such as might be due to similarity of circle or of conditions of life, and is not sufficiently close to prove literary dependence, on one side or the other.

	d	
<i>Romans</i>	d	
(2) Did. v. 2.		Rom. 12 ⁹ .
οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ.		ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν, κολλώ- μενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ.

The verbal coincidence is close, but the phrase is not remarkable (cf. iii. 9), and seems like an ethical commonplace. In the absence of other signs of any use of the epistle, it cannot prove literary dependence on either side.

UNCLASSED

<i>Hebrews</i>		
(3) Did. iv. 1.		Heb. 13 ⁷ .
τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησθῆσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.		μνημονεύετε τῶν ἥγονυμένων ὑμῶν, οἵ- τινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

There is some similarity of thought, but the distinctive ἥγονυμένων is not in *Didache*, and the phrase λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ is a natural one.

<i>Jude</i>		
(4) Did. ii. 7.		Jude 22 f.
οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον [ἀλλὰ οὐσὶ μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὅν προσ- εύξῃ, om. Lat.], οὐσὶ δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου.		Text very uncertain.

See Lev. 19¹⁷ f. for wording of Did.

GOSPELS.

(I) The Synoptic Gospels.

UNCLASSED

(5) Did. iii. 7, cf. Matt. 5⁵ (due to Ps. 36¹¹).

(II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(6) Did. i. 2. Matt. 22³⁷⁻³⁹.

πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου... αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή. δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν : cf. Mark 12²⁹ f.

Here there is juxtaposition of the two principles associated in the Gospels and with like emphasis on their order ; but the addition *τὸν ποιήσαντά σε* suggests direct Jewish influence. See Eccl. 7³⁰, and cf. (5).

(7) Did. i. 2. Matt. 7¹².

πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἔὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἀλλῷ μὴ ποieῖ.

πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἔὰν θελῆτε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιείτε αὐτοῖς (cf. Luke 6³¹).

Tobit 4¹⁵.

οὐ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσης.

Acts 15^{20, 29}.

καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἔαντοις γίνεσθαι ἔτεροις (-ῳ) μὴ ποιεῖτε. c. D min. pauc. syrh^l c. sah. aeth. Iren.^{lat} Cyprian.*

The evidence seems to show that the form preserved in Tobit re-emerges in the Jewish saying ascribed to Hillel, 'What is hateful to thyself, do not to thy fellow' ; and the negative form in the *Didache* may be due to such influence. On the other hand the wording *ὅσα ἔὰν θελήσῃς μὴ κτλ.*, instead of *οὐ μισεῖς* (found also in Greek, attributed e.g. to Cleobulus), seems due to the influence of the evangelical form of the saying (cf. Lampridius, in *Vita Alex. Severi*, 51, 7 quod a quibusdam sive Iudaeis sive Christianis audierat... 'Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris' ; so *Didascalia*, i. 1, adding 'ab alio'). If the saying be part of the true text of the Acts, it would here most naturally be attributed to the use of the Acts. If it be regarded as a gloss in Acts, the *Didache* may have originated such a gloss.

2. THE ECCLESIASTICAL SECTION, VII-XV.

There are no certain quotations or allusions to the Old Testament or to any other documents which can serve as a standard of accuracy in quotation, save the free quotation from Mal. 1^{11 ff.} in xiv. 3, where *καὶ χρόνῳ* (added to *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ*) finds a parallel in the Targum ad loc.

EPISTLES.

D
d1 Corinthians
(8) Did. x. 6.i Cor. 16²².*μαρὰν ἀθά.**μαρὰν ἀθά.*

The Aramaic words would seem, from the sudden way in which they are introduced in 1 Corinthians, to have been in common use. But it may be noted that in each case they are used to enforce a warning. In the *Didache*, *εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστιν [ἄγιος]*, *μετανοείτω*. In 1 Corinthians, *εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον, ἥτις ἀνάθεμα*.

GOSPELS.

(I) The Synoptic Gospels.

C
cMatthew
(9) Did. vii. 1.Matt. 28¹⁹.

βαπτίζατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. *βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.*

The Trinitarian baptismal formula is not found in the Canonical New Testament except in Matthew; but on account of its liturgical use, its presence here cannot prove literary dependence on the Gospel. Further, it cannot be held certain that these words stood originally either in this section of the *Didache* or in the original text of Matthew (*om. codd. ap. Euseb.*).

d

(10) Did. ix. 5.
καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύριος, μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυστί.

The verbal resemblance is exact, but the passage in Matthew contains no reference to the Eucharist, and the proverbial character of the saying reduces the weight which must be attached to verbal similarity, cf. (13). It is cited as a *saying* of the Lord.

(11) Did. viii. 1 f.

αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γάρ δευτέρᾳ ταῦθιταν καὶ πέμπτῃ ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. 2 μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκέλευστε ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἀγασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν στήμερον, καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Matt. 6¹⁶.

ὅταν δὲ νηστεύητε μὴ γίνεσθε, ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, σκυθρωποί ἀφανίζοντις γάρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, ὅπως φανῶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες. ἀμῆν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν· σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἀλειψάσι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου γίγνου.

Matt. 6⁵, 9–13.

καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί . . . οὕτως οὕτω προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς· πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀγασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν στήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Matt. v. 5 om. syr^{sin}. ἀφήκαμεν] ἀφίομεν DELΔΠ² al., ἀφίεμεν Ν^οΓΚΜΣUΠ* codd. recent. πονηροῦ] add. ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. codd. recent.; add. ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. syr^{cur} (syr^{sin} deest); add. quoniam tuum est robur et potentia in aevum aevi amen. sah.; add. quoniam est tibi virtus in saecula saeculorum. k.

In the section about fasting the only point in common is the connexion of fasting with hypocrisy; there is also in the *Didache* a complete perversion of the spirit of Christ's teaching about fasting, and the specific reference to Pharisees is wanting.

In the sections touching prayer the writer seems clearly familiar with a definite statement of Christ's teaching, though hardly a written one, cf. αὐτοῦ after ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. There is also a superficial point of connexion with Matt. 6⁵, inasmuch as both there and in the *Didache* the true method of prayer is contrasted with a false one. But Matthew distinguishes (cf. v. 7) between the false methods of the ὑποκριταί (a class of Jews) and the ἑθνικοί, while the *Didache* makes no mention of ἑθνικοί. It must however be remembered that the text of Matthew is doubtful on this point, as B syr^{cur} read ὑποκριταί instead of ἑθνικοί. It would also appear probable from what precedes and follows that the *Didache* makes the

falsity of method on the part of the νποκριτᾱ lie not so much in the spirit as in the form of their prayers.

The Lord's Prayer in the *Didache* agrees with the Matthaean version as against the Lucan, in the number of clauses which it contains, in the introduction by the words οὗτω προσεύχεσθε, and in its verbal similarity. There are no divergences from Matt. 6⁹ ff. except in four points:—

- (1) τῷ οὐρανῷ for τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
- (2) δοκειλήν for δοκειλήματα.
- (3) ἀφίεμεν for ἀφήκαμεν.
- (4) The doxology.

(3) may be dismissed on the ground of possible assimilation in the text of our MS. of the *Didache* to the later text of the Lord's Prayer. As to (1) and (2) the differences would be insignificant, were it not that they come in a liturgical passage, where the text is apt to be strictly fixed by use, and that the whole quotation seems to come directly from a local liturgical usage. (4) The peculiar form of the doxology does not agree exactly with any of the forms known to occur in the authorities for the text of Matthew.

These three sections, on fasting, on prayer, on the Lord's Prayer, cannot be separated from each other. They point at least to similar local conditions; but the two former rather weaken the probability that the Lord's Prayer is a direct quotation from our Matthew.

(12) Did. xi. 7.

πᾶσα γὰρ ἀμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὐτῇ
δὲ ή ἀμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.

Matt. 12³¹.

πᾶσα ἀμαρτία καὶ βλασφημίᾳ ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, η δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος βλασφημίᾳ οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.

Mark 3²⁸.

πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς νιοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι ὅσα ἀν βλασφημήσωσιν ὁ δὲ ἀν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ Πνεύμα τὸ Ἀγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἀφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰώνα, ἀλλ' ἔνοχός ἐστιν αἰώνιον ἀμαρτήματος, cf. Luke 12¹⁰.

The form of the quotation is closer to Matthew than to Mark or Luke, and a similar context for the saying is obviously implied. Yet what is true of (10) applies here also.

(13) Did. xiii. 1.

πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔξιος ἔστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡσαντως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἔστιν ἔξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.

Matt. 10¹⁰.Luke 10⁷.*ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.*1 Tim. 5¹⁸.*ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

The verbal coincidence is exact, and is made the more noticeable by the fact that in Luke and 1 Timothy *τροφῆς* is replaced by *μισθοῦ*. But 1 Timothy seems to show that the saying was one in common Christian use, while the *Didache* does not refer it to ‘the Lord,’ as in clear Gospel citations.

D

Luke

d

(14) Did. ix. 2.

*πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου.*Luke 22¹⁷⁻¹⁹.

καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε, λάβετε τούτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτοὺς . . . καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον κτλ.

The R. V. goes on to give an account of another *ποτήριον*. But D omits, and so does the Syriac, though it inverts the order. If, then, we regard this as a ‘Western non-interpolation,’ the order in the *Didache* is the same as that found in what would be the earliest text of Luke. But the specific associations of the Last Supper in Luke are ignored; therefore it does not seem that the resemblance is to be explained by any literary dependence, but rather by a common traditional usage.

(II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(15) This, as implied in the *Didache*, corresponds closely to what is found in our Synoptics, particularly Matthew, and is alluded to under the phrase *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, which apparently means the Message itself rather than any special record.

Thus we have in xi. 3 the phrase *κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*. Here the closest point of connexion in the context is to be found in xi. 4 *πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος*, which suggests Matt. 10⁴⁰, but can scarcely be regarded as a quotation; see also (12) for xi. 7. So in viii. 2, the tense *ἐκέλευσεν* supports the view that the *εὐαγγέλιον* is thought of as uttered by the Lord, and not as written down. In view of these passages, it is not certain

that the phrase ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (*τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν*), in xv. 3, 4, has any other sense.

(III) The Fourth Gospel.

UNCLASSED

Under this heading it will be proper to mention the passages in ix–x which seem reminiscent of Johannine ideas and terminology. Three are especially noticeable:—

(16) Did. ix. 2 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγέλας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τὸν παιδός σου.

This must refer primarily at least to the Church regarded as the Messianic kingdom, and not to Christ personally (which is excluded by ἐγνώρισας διὰ Ἰησοῦ). It may also refer secondarily to the Davidic Messianic king, who in Jewish thought is almost interchangeable with the nation in its ideal aspect. Cf. the Targum on Ps. 80^{14, 15}, *The vine-shoot which thy right hand hath planted and the king Messiah whom thou hast established for thyself*, and Apoc. Baruch 39 ‘*Tunc revelabitur Messiae mei principatus qui similis est fonti et viti.*’ It is relative to this mystical idea of the Church that the Cup is to be understood (cf. πνευματικὸς ποτός in x. 3). The resemblance to John 15¹ rests on little more than the figure of the vine for the Messianic Kingdom.

(17) Did. ix. 3 εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἡς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τὸν παιδός σου. Cf. John 17³.

(18) Did. x. 3 ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τὸν παιδός σου. Cf. John 6^{45–55}.

It is noticeable that the distinctive ideas of the manna and the identification of the bread with the body of Christ, are not found in the *Didache*. The point of closest resemblance is that the *Didache*, like the Fourth Gospel, does not connect the spiritual food with the specific ideas of the institution, as is done in the Synoptic narrative.

3. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL CHAPTER.

GOSPELS.

The Synoptic Tradition.

(19) Did. xvi. 1. Matt. 24^{42, 44}.
 γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν οἱ γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποίᾳ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήσασαν καὶ οἱ ἡμέρα ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται . . . καὶ ὀσφύνεις ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι· ὅτι ἦ ὥρα οὐ

γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι· οὐ γάρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν
ἐν ᾧ ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται.

δοκεῖτε ὁ νὺὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.
Cf. 25¹⁸.

Luke 12³⁵.

ζεστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσ-
μέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι. Cf. 12⁴⁰.

Matt. 24⁴² ἡμέρᾳ] ὥρᾳ ΙΓΚΠ al. pler. lat.-vet. syrsin pesh. Tatar.
Orig. Ath.

There is a marked parallel to Luke 12³⁵, where alone ὀσφύες and λύχνοι occur in the same combination; but it is in Matt. that γρηγορεῖτε goes with οὐκ οἴδατε ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ [ὥρᾳ] ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται, and with ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν in 25¹³.

(20) Did. xvi. 3-5.

ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυν-
θήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθο-
ρεῖς καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς
λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς
μῖσος. αὐξανούσης γάρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισή-
σονται ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξονται καὶ παρα-
δώσονται, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμο-
πλάνος ὡς νὺὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα
καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς
χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα ἢ
οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰώνων· τότε ἥξει
ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν
τῆς δοκιμασίας καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται
πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται οἱ δὲ ὑπομεί-
ναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται
νπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

Matt. 24¹⁰⁻¹³.

καὶ τότε σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί,
καὶ ἀλλήλους παραδώσονται, καὶ μισή-
σονται ἀλλήλους· καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδο-
προφῆται ἐγερθήσονται καὶ πλανήσονται
πολλούς· καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν
ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολ-
λῶν ὃ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὐτος
σωθήσεται. Cf. Matt. 7¹⁵, 24²⁴ and
Mark 13¹³.

There are several points of connexion with Matt. 24¹⁰⁻¹³, but this may not represent more than a common oral basis containing a good many conventional Apocalyptic ideas. It is to be noted that there is nothing in Matthew analogous to ὁ κοσμοπλάνος κτλ. and to νπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος, parallels to which are rather to be found in *Ascensio Isaiae*, iv. 2 ff.

(21) Did. xvi. 6.

καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς
ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημείον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν
οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημείον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

Matt. 24^{30 f.}

καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ
νιοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . καὶ
ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ
σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης.

The parallelism is insufficient to warrant any sure inference. The scheme in the *Didache* is rather that of 1 Thess. 4¹⁴⁻¹⁶, where we have (1) the revelation of the Lord from Heaven

with angels of power, (2) the archangel's trumpet call, (3) the resurrection. Cf. too the *σήματα τρισσά* of the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 188 (*ρομφαία, σάλπιγξ, ἀνάστασις*, cf. iv. 173 ff.), and the description of the *παρουσία* in the *Ascensio Isaiae*, chap. iv. For heavenly portents, cf. Josephus's account of signs before the war; and for the meaning of *ἐκπέτασις*, cf. *Sib. Orac.* viii. 302 and Isa. 65³ (in which Barnabas sees a reference to the Crucifixion). Apparently this idea was a more specific form given to 'the sign of the Son of Man,' which originally pointed simply to Dan. 7¹³ and its imagery.

On the whole, we notice that this section (1) contains features not found in our Synoptic tradition, and represents a more specific and personal doctrine of Antichrist, more closely resembling that found in 2 Thess. 2; Barn. iv; *Asc. Isaiae*, iv: (2) agrees far more fully with Matthew than with any other single Synoptic, though it has certain points peculiar to Luke, cf. (19): but (3) cannot be said to prove its author's knowledge of our Matthew, as distinct from the tradition lying behind it, which may well have been that of the region in which the *Didache* itself was compiled. While, then, use of our Synoptic tradition is highly probable, the verdict in relation to the individual gospels must remain doubtful.

4. THE INTERPOLATION IN THE 'TWO WAYS'

(i. 3–ii. 1).

EPISTLES.

D

d

i Peter

(22) Did. i. 4.

ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν
ἐπιθυμιῶν.

i Pet. 2¹¹.

ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

The text of the *Didache*, as it stands, recalls i Pet. 2¹¹. The sentiment, however, is a natural one, and it is worth noticing that the conjunction of *σωματικῶν* and *σαρκικῶν* seems rather tautologous, and that *σωματικῶν* has been replaced in A. C. vii. 1 by *κοσμικῶν*. For the possibility that *σωματικῶν*

originally stood alone, cf. 4 Macc. 1³² τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι ψυχικαὶ αἱ δὲ σωματικαὶ. If this suggestion be right, σαρκικῶν would be a later gloss derived from 1 Peter and due to the same feeling as that which led to the substitution of κοσμικῶν in A. C. vii. 1 (possibly from Titus 2¹²). The context suggests that *Didache* has in view ἐπιθυμίαι that wrong one's neighbour, as in Matt. 5²⁷⁻³⁰.

(I) The Synoptic Gospels.

D

Matthew

(23) Did. i. 5.

οὐκ ἔξελεύσεται ἑκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ οὐ μὴ ἔξελθης ἑκεῖθεν ὧσι ἀνάποδῶς τὸν ἕσχατον κοδράντην. δῷς τὸν ἕσχατον κοδράντην. Cf. Luke 12⁵⁹, which has λεπτὸν ἀποδῷς.

Matt. 5²⁶.

The wording of the *Didache* is closer to Matthew than it is to Luke, especially in the use of κοδράντην and not λεπτόν. But the context is quite different, and it would be hazardous to lay much stress on a phrase which must have been a familiar one. See further under (25), (26).

Luke

(24) See under the next section.

(II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(25) Did. i. 3.

εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. ποία γὰρ χάρις ἔαν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸν ποιοῦσι; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἔχθρον.

Matt. 5⁴⁴⁻⁴⁷.

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς . . . ἔαν γὰρ ἀγαπήσῃτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸν ποιοῦσι κτλ.

Luke 6²⁷⁻³³.

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσι τὸν ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς . . . καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἔστι; . . . καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ποιοῦσι.

In Matt. post ἔχθροὺς ὑμῶν add. εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς DLKII c f h pesh et mss. vss. pp. recen. ante καὶ προσεύχ. add. καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσι τὸν ὑμᾶς D lat. pler. (non k) pesh. mss. vss. pp. recen. ante διωκόντων add. ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ D lat. pler. (non k) pesh. mss. vss. pp. recen.

It seems impossible to decide whether the occurrence of Matthaean and Lucan features, e. g. ποία χάρις (cf. Luke 6³²) and τὰ ζεύη (cf. Matt. 5⁴⁷), be due (1) to a blending of the two Gospels, (2) or to the knowledge of another Greek source nearer to the Λόγια, which are generally supposed to be the source of this section of the matter common to the first and third evangelists, (3) or to oral tradition, (4) or to an early harmony (e. g. the Diatessaron).

With regard to the second possibility, it may be noted that the emphasis on fasting, which seems to be represented as a climax, is in keeping with a tendency discernible in later Jewish literature (cf. Tobit 12⁸) and which assumes prominence in 2 Clement 16⁴, but it is not found in the N. T.¹ It is therefore unlikely that it appeared in a source earlier than the Canonical Gospels. οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν at the end of a paragraph, if an addition of a redactor, cannot be very late, see *Didasc.* i. 1, and cf. *Apol. Aristidis* 15, Justin, *Apol.* i. 14.

(26) Did. i. 4-6.

Matt. 5³⁹⁻⁴².

(1) ἐάν τις σοι δῷ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἐση τέλειος. (2) ἐάν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μῆλιον ἔν, ὑπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. (3) ἐάν ἅρη τις τὸ ἱμάτιον σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα. (4) ἐάν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. (5) παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει.

ὅστις σε ῥάπιζε εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σου σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ τῷ θέλοντι σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν ἀφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον· καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μῆλιον ἔν, ὑπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· τῷ αἰτοῦντι σε δίδου, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς.

Luke 6²⁹⁻³⁰.

τῷ τύπτοντι σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς· παντὶ αἰτοῦντι σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει.

The resemblance of this passage to Matthew and Luke is obvious. It should however be observed that, if we take the five cases as arranged and numbered above in the *Didache*, Matthew has 1, 3, 2, 5, omitting 4, while Luke has 1, 3, 5, 4, omitting 2. Going outside the Canonical Gospels, Tatian's *Diatessaron* (according to the reconstruction made by Zahn in

¹ But notice in this connexion the quite early addition in Mark 9²⁰ of καὶ νηστείᾳ το προσενχῆ, which is found in syr^{sin} and almost all late authorities.

his *Forschungen*, i. 17) had 1, 2, 3, 4, omitting 5, and Justin's *Apology*, i. 16, cites only 1, 3, and 2 a line later. It is hard to draw any more definite conclusion from these facts, than that the resemblance to our Gospels may be explained in any one of the four ways mentioned in the preceding note. It should be added that the addition of the phrases *καὶ ἐστιν τέλειος* and *οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι* shows the freedom with which the redactor is handling his material, whencesoever derived. It is useless to analyse closely the exact verbal correspondences with Matthew and Luke; for in a passage in which so many possibilities are open, only the closest verbal resemblances would be sufficient to prove literary dependence.

CLEMENT OF ROME

INTRODUCTION.

Standard of Accuracy in quotations. The quotations from the Old Testament seem for the most part to be made with great exactness, especially in the case of the citation of longer passages. Occasional variations from the text of the Septuagint occur; but these are usually very slight, and may possibly represent readings of the text differing from those in the principal MSS.: see also p. 124.

The quotations from the N. T. are clearly made in a different way. Even in the case of N. T. works which as it appears to us were certainly known and used by Clement, such as Romans and 1 Corinthians, the citations are loose and inexact. This is not the place to discuss the causes of this difference in method; it is sufficient to point out that this fact makes it in the highest degree precarious to argue from the inexactness of possible quotations of other works in the N. T., that Clement did not know, and was not using these works.

Formulae of Citation. Passages from the O. T. are frequently introduced by the phrases *γέγραπται*, *τὸ γεγραμμένον*, *ἡ γραφή*.

EPISTLES, ACTS, AND APOCALYPSE.

A

Romans

a

(1) Clem. xxxv. 5, 6.

ἀπορρίψαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶσαν
ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀνομίαν, πλεονεξίαν, ἔρεις,
κακοηθείας τε καὶ δόκους, Ψιθυρισμούς
τε καὶ καταλαλίας, θεοστυγίαν, ὑπερη-
φανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, κενοδοξίαν
τε καὶ ἀφιλοξενίαν.

Rom. 1²⁹⁻³².

πεπληρωμένους πάση ἀδικίᾳ, πονη-
ρίᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, κακίᾳ, μεστοὺς φθόνου,
φόνου, ἔριδος, δόλου, κακοηθείας,
Ψιθυριστάς, καταλάλους, θεοστυγεῖς,
ὑβριστάς, ὑπερηφάνους, ἀλαζόνας,
ἔφευρετάς κακῶν, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς,

ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσποντες στυγη-
τοὶ τῷ Θεῷ ὑπάρχοντιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ
οἱ πράσποντες αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συν-
ευδοκοῦντες αὐτοῖς.

ἀσυνέτους, ἀσυνθέτους, ἀστόργους,
ἀνελέμονας, οἵτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ
Θεοῦ ἐπιγρόντες, ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα πρά-
σποντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον
αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι
τοῖς πράσποντιν.

An examination of this passage makes it practically certain that Clement is influenced by the recollection of the passage in the Epistle to the Romans. This judgement is founded upon—

1. The remarkable coincidence of the vices which are mentioned: this seems too detailed to have occurred by chance.

2. The character of the concluding sentences in the two passages: it would be very difficult to imagine that Clement is here independent of St. Paul.

b

(2) Clem. xxxiii. 1.

τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί; ἀργή-
σωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθοποίης καὶ ἐγ-
καταλίπωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην; μηδαμῶς
τούτο ἔσται ὁ δεσμότης ἐφ' ἡμῖν γε
γενηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ σπεύσωμεν μετὰ
ἐκτενείας καὶ προθυμίας πᾶν ἔργον
ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν.

Rom. 6¹.

τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ
ἀμαρτίᾳ, ἵνα ή χάρις πλεονάσῃ; μὴ
γένοιτο.

It seems most probable that Clement is here writing under the impression of the passage in the Romans. It is true that there is little verbal coincidence between the passages, but their thought is closely related. The impression produced by this is very much strengthened when the context of the two passages is observed. In the last section of the previous chapter Clement has stated that we are justified by means of faith.

c

(3) Clem. xxxii. 2.

ἔξ αὐτοῦ ('Ιακὼβ) ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς
τὸ κατὰ σάρκα.

Rom. 9⁵.

ἔξ ὃν (τῶν πατέρων) ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ
κατὰ σάρκα.

It seems probable that the sentence in Clement was

suggested by that in Romans. The phrase *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα* is not a very obvious one.

(4) Clem. I. 6, 7.

γέγραπται γάρ· Μακάριοι δὲ ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ δὲν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ φὶ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται Κύριος ἀμαρτίαν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος, οὗτος δὲ μακαρισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλελεγμένους ἵπο τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ημῶν.

It is clear that Clement intends to quote the Psalm; he introduces the quotation with the word *γέγραπται*, and we have not found any clear case where he has done this in the case of a passage from the N. T. This seems also evident from his concluding the quotation with words which are in the Psalm, but not in Romans. But it must also be recognized that the words *οὗτος δὲ μακαρισμός* suggest strongly that he was influenced by his recollection of the same words in the Romans.

d

(5) Clem. xxxvi. 2.

ἡ ἀσύνετος καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια
ημῶν.

Clem. li. 5.

τὰς ἀσυνέτους καρδίας.

Rom. 1²¹.

καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν
καρδία.

Eph. 4¹⁸.

ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ.

The phrases in Clement may have been suggested by the Romans, but there is a similar phrase in Eph. 4¹⁸: see (37).

(6) Clem. xxxviii. 1.

σωζέσθω οὖν ήμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα
ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω
ἔκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

Rom. 12⁴.

καθάπερ γάρ ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι πολλὰ
μέλη ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ μέλη πάντα οὐ
τὴν αὐτήν ἔχει πρᾶξιν· οὕτως οἱ
πολλοὶ ἐν σῶμά ἔσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ.

Clem. xlvi. 7.

ἴνατι διέλκομεν καὶ διασπώμεν τὰ
μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ στασιάζομεν
πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον.

I Cor. 6¹⁵.

τὰ σώματα ήμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ
ἔστιν.

Rom. 4⁷⁻⁹.

μακάριοι δὲν ἀφέθησαν
αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ δὲν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι·
μακάριος ἀνὴρ φὶ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται Κύριος
ἀμαρτίαν. δὲ μακαρισμὸς
οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν περιτομήν; ή καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν
ἀκροβυθυσίαν;

Ps. 31 (32)^{1, 2}.

μακάριοι δὲν ἀφέθησαν
αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ δὲν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι.
μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὐ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται Κύριος
ἀμαρτίαν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ
στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος.

1 Cor. 12¹².

καθάπερ γάρ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἔστι, καὶ μέλη πολλὰ ἔχει, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα ἐν ἔστι σῶμα, οὐτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός.

Eph. 4⁴.

ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα.

Eph. 4²⁵.

ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων μέλη.

Eph. 5³⁰.

ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

It is hardly possible to say here whether Clement is influenced by the Romans or the other Epistles.

I Corinthians

a

(7) Clem. xxxvii. 5.

λάβωμεν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἡ κεφαλὴ δίχα τῶν ποδῶν οὐδέν εἶστιν, οὔτως οὐδὲ οἱ πόδες δίχα τῆς κεφαλῆς· τὰ δὲ ἐλάχιστα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ εὑχρηστά εἰσιν ὅλως τῷ σώματι ἀλλὰ πάντα συνπνεῖ καὶ ὑποταγῇ μιᾶς χρήται εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.

xxxviii. 1.

σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ.

Cf. 1 Clem. xlvi. 7 and 1 Cor. 6¹⁵.

It would appear to be certain that Clement is here influenced by the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The metaphor of the body and its members is indeed found also in Romans and Ephesians, but the details are taken from the passage in Corinthians.

(8) Clem. xlvii. 1.

ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. ■ τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; 3 ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευμα-

1 Cor. 12^{12 ff.}

καθάπερ γάρ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἔστι, καὶ μέλη πολλὰ ἔχει, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα ἐν ἔστι σῶμα, οὐτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός . . .

¹⁴ καὶ γάρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἐστιν ἐν μέλος, ἀλλὰ πολλά . . .

²¹ οὐ δύναται δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρὶ, Χρείαν του οὐκ ἔχω· ἡ πάλιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσί, Χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω. ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν ἀναγκαῖα ἔστι.

1 Cor. 11–13.

ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί μου, ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης, ὅτι ἔριδες ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσι. λέγω δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει, Ἐγώ μέν εἰμι Παύλου,

τικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ ἁντοῦ τε
καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλώ, διὰ τὸ καὶ
τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι·

Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ,
Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.

It cannot be doubted that this passage refers to the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the references to Cephas and Apollos and the trouble in the Church seem to make this plain, and the conclusion is borne out by actual quotations from the Epistle.

It is important to ask whether the mode of referring to this letter implies that Clement had no knowledge of our second letter. Dr. Lightfoot, in his note on the passage, cites parallels which seem to make it plain that such a conclusion would be unwarranted.

(9) Clem. xlix. 5.

1 Cor. 13⁴⁻⁷.

ἀγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται, πάντα μακροθυμεῖ· οὐδὲν βάναυσον ἐν ἀγάπῃ,
οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον ἀγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ
ἔχει, ἀγάπη οὐ στασιάζει, ἀγάπη πάντα
ποιεῖ ἐν ὅμονολῃ·

ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται·
ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ δηλοῖ· ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ
περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται, οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ,
οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἔαυτῆς, οὐ παροξύνεται,
οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν, οὐ
χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ
τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πάντα στέγει, πάντα
πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.

It can hardly be doubted that many of the phrases in Clement were suggested by the recollection of the passage in Corinthians.

b

(10) Clem. xxiv. 1.

1 Cor. 15²⁰.

κατανοήσωμεν, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς ὁ
δεσπότης ἐπιδεικνύται διηρεκώς ἡμῖν
τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἡς
τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τὸν Κύριον
Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσας,

νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ
νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.

1 Cor. 15²³,

ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός.

This would appear to be almost certainly a reminiscence. The word ἀπαρχή, used in this sense of our Lord, in reference to the resurrection, seems to make this plain.

(11) Clem. xxiv. 4, 5.

1 Cor. 15^{36, 37}.

λάβωμεν τοὺς καρπούς· ὁ σπόρος
πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον γίνεται; ἐξῆλθεν
ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν

ἄφρων, σὺν δὲ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποεί-
ται, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· καὶ δὲ σπείρεις,
οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις

ἔκαστον τῶν σπερμάτων ἄτινα πε-
σόντα εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔηρά καὶ γυμνὰ
διαλύεται, εἴτ' ἐκ τῆς διαλύσεως ἡ
μεγαλειώτης τῆς προνοίας τοῦ δεσπότου
ἀνίστησιν αὐτά, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς πλείονα
αὔξει καὶ ἐκφέρει καρπόν.

It seems most probable that the thought of this passage is suggested by that in Corinthians. It is true that the development of the conception is different, but there is nothing surprising in this, if, as seems probable, Clement's references to the N. T. are usually made from memory.

c

(12) Clem. xlvi. 5.

ἢτω τις πιστός, ἢτω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν
ἐξεπειν, ἢτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει
λόγων, ἢτω ἀγνὸς ἐν ἔργοις.

1 Cor. 12^{8, 9.}

ῳ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δίδο-
ται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος
γνῶσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸν Πνεῦμα, ἐπέρω
πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι.

It is noticeable that though the form of Clement's phrase is quite different from that of St. Paul, he groups together the same three qualities or gifts, πιστός—πίστις, γνῶσις—λογός γνῶσεως, σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων—λόγος σοφίας. In view of this it would seem probable that we have here a reminiscence of St. Paul's words.

d

(13) Clem. v. 1, 5.

ἀθλητάς . . . βραβείον.

1 Cor. 9^{24.}

οὐκ οἴδατε, ὅτι, οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέ-
χοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἰς δὲ
λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον;

Cf. Phil. 3^{14.}

(14) Clem. xxxiv. 8.

λέγει γάρ· ¹ ὁ φθαλμὸς
οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐσ ὁὐκ
ήκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν
ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα
² ἡτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομέ-
νουσιν ³ αὐτόν.

1 Cor. 2^{9.}

ἄλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται,
“Αἱ ὁφθαλμοὶ οὐκ εἶδε,
καὶ οὐσ ὁὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ
ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου
οὐσ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἡτοίμα-
σεν δὲ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶ-
σιν αὐτόν.

Isa. 64^{4.}

ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ
ἡκούσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ὁ-
φθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἰδον θεὸν
πλὴν σοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἔργα
σου ἀ ποίησεις τοῖς ὑπο-
μένουσιν ἔλεον. Cf. 65¹⁶
οὐκ ἀναβήσεται αὐτῶν
ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν.

¹ Syr. Lat. and Constant. insert ἦ.
δ κύριος. ² Constant. reads ἀγαπῶσιν, and Syr. supports this; Lat. reads sustinentibus, with Alexand.

³ Syr. Lat. and Constant. insert

The passages in Clement and 1 Corinthians are almost

verbally agreed, and it would at first sight seem natural to conclude that Clement is quoting from 1 Corinthians, while the relation of St. Paul's phrase to that of Isaiah is a difficult question. But a more careful examination of the passages shows clearly that the phenomena are very complex.

1. The context, and therefore the meaning of the passage in Clement, is entirely different from that in St. Paul. In Clement the things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard are the rewards promised to the servants of God. This is evident from the whole character of the chapter, and especially of the preceding sentence, *εἰς τὸ μετόχον ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ*. In 1 Corinthians the things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard are the hidden mysteries which are revealed to the believers by the Spirit of God. In Isaiah the meaning of the passage is like that of Clement, but the phrases are very different.

2. A. Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 102) has collected a great number of cases where the same phrase is quoted or referred to—

Hegesippus in Stephen Gobarus ap. Photium, cod. 232, col. 893; Hom. Clem. ii. 13; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* x. 94; Origen, in *Ierem. Hom.* xviii. 15; *Apost. Const.* vii. 32; Athanasius, *De Virginitate*, 18; Epiph. *Haer.* lxiv. 69. We may add *Actus Petri*, 10, *Acts of Thomas*, Syriac, ed. Wright, p. 205, and 2 Clem. xi. 7.

In all these passages the phrase seems to be used in the same sense as in Clem. xxxiv. 8, that is as referring to the future rewards promised to the righteous.

3. Resch also points out that St. Jerome, *Comm. on Isaiah*, lib. xvii, says that the apocryphal *Ascension of Isaiah* contained this phrase, and (Ep. 57) that it was also contained in the *Apocalypse of Elias*; while Origen, *Comm. on Matt.* xxvii. 9, says that the phrase occurs 'in nullo regulari libro,' but 'in secretis Eliae prophetae.' The *Testamentum Iesu Christi*, xxviii (ed. Rahmani, Mainz, 1899), cites the passage as a saying of the Lord, but adds 'as Moses and other holy men have said.'

It seems then most probable that Clement and the other authors mentioned are not taking the phrase from St. Paul. It is impossible to think that they take it from Isaiah; the form

in which they cite the saying is wholly different from his; while it corresponds almost exactly with that of St. Paul. Accordingly it is probable that St. Paul, Clement, and the other writers are quoting from some unknown source, a pre-Christian work, to judge from Paul's use of it (with *καθὼς γέγραπται*).

(15) Clem. xxxvii. 3.

ἀλλ' ἔκαστος ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ τάγματι—

1 Cor. 15²³.

ἔκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ τάγματι—

There is here an exact correspondence of words, but the phrase in Clement arises quite naturally from the context, and is of too obvious a character to demand explanation.

(16) Clem. xxxviii. 2.

ὅ δὲ πτωχὸς ἐνχαριστείτω τῷ Θεῷ
ὅτι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δὶ' οὖ ἀναπληρωθῆ
αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑστέρημα.1 Cor. 16¹⁷.χαῖρω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ Στεφανᾶ
καὶ Φορτουνάτου καὶ Ἀχαικοῦ, ὅτι τὸ
ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα οὗτοι ἀνεπλήρωσαν.Phil. 2³⁰.παραβολευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ, ἵνα ἀνα-
πληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρός
με λειτουργίας.Cf. also 2 Cor. 9¹², 11⁹, and
Col. 1²⁴.

(17) Clem. xl. 1.

προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων,
καὶ ἐγκεκυφότες εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας
γνώσεως.1 Cor. 2¹⁰.τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ
βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ.Rom. 11³³.ὡς βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ
γνώσεως Θεοῦ.

(18) Clem. xlviii. 6.

1 Cor. 10^{24, 33}.Cf. Phil. 2⁴.*Hebrews*

a

(19) Clem. xxxvi. 2-5.

διὰ τούτου (Ἴησοῦ Χριστοῦ) ἡθέλη-
σεν ὁ δεσπότης τῆς ἀθανάτου γράσσεως
ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι· διὸ ὅν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς
μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσούτῳ μείζων
ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφοράτερον

Heb. 1.

πολυμερώς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι Ι
ό Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς
προφήταις ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τού- 2
των ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν νίῳ, ὃν ἔθηκε
κληρονόμου πάντων, δι' οὖ καὶ ἐποίησε

ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκεν¹. γέγραπται γάρ οὕτως· Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ νιῷ αὐτοῦ οὕτως εἴπεν ὁ δεσπότης· Υἱός μου εἰ σύ, ἔγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκά σε· αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἔως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

τοὺς αἰῶνας² ὃς ὅν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς 3
δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ρήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, τοσούτῳ 4
κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα. τίνι γάρ εἴπε ποτε τῶν 5
ἀγγέλων, Υἱός μου εἰ σύ, ἔγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκά σε; Καὶ πάλιν, Ἔγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς νιόν; ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν 6
πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην λέγει,
Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες
ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς 7
ἀγγέλους λέγει, Ὁ ποιῶν τὸν ἀγγέλους
αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς
αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα· πρὸς δὲ τὸν νιόν, 8
‘Ο θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ἡ ράβδος τῆς εὐθύνης
ράβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου’ ἡγάπησας 9
δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν·
διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θέος σου,
ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τὸν μετόχους σου. καὶ, Σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, Κύριε, 10
τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν
χειρῶν σου εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρανοὶ αὐτὸὶ 11
ἀπολούνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις· καὶ
πάντες ὡς ἴμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ 12
ώσει περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτούς, ὡς
ἴμάτιον, καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται· σὺ δὲ ὁ
αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι. 13
πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκε ποτε,
Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἔως ἂν θῶ τοὺς
ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν
σου; οὐχὶ πάντες εἰσὶ λειτουργικὰ 14
πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα
διὰ τὸν μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν;

Ps. 2⁷, ⁸ νιός μου εἰ σύ, ἔγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκά σε. αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ,
καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα
τῆς γῆς.

Ps. 103 (104)⁴ ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς
λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον².

Ps. 109 (110)¹ κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

¹ C. reads κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.

² A^a read πυρὸς φλέγα.

There can be practically no doubt that in this passage we have a reminiscence of the first chapter of the Hebrews. The following are the most important points:—

1. Clement quotes the first words of Heb. 1³, and then Heb. 1⁴, omitting the intervening words, and with the following changes. Clement reads *μεγαλωσύνης* for δόξης, *μείζων ἐστιν* for *κρείττων γενόμενος*: he omits παρ' αὐτούς, and in the best texts transposes κεκληρονόμηκεν and ὅνομα. The substitution of *μεγαλωσύνη* for δόξα might easily be accounted for by the occurrence of the former at the end of Heb. 1³.

2. Clement then quotes, with the formula γέγραπται, Ps. 104⁴, in a form which corresponds exactly with Heb. 1⁷. It can hardly be doubted that Clement intends to quote the Psalm, but the form in which he does it is exactly the same as that in Hebrews, while it differs from the best text of the LXX in one particular. Clement reads πυρὸς φλόγα, while the LXX reads πῦρ φλέγον (A^a πυρὸς φλέγα).

3. Clement then quotes Ps. 2⁷ and 8, while in Heb. 1⁵ only Ps. 2⁷ is quoted.

4. Clement then quotes Ps. 110¹, which is quoted in Heb. 1¹³.

We have then an almost verbal citation from the Hebrews, and the citation of a group of passages from the Psalms which would be difficult to explain except as suggested by the Hebrews. It may, indeed, be objected that the latter phenomenon might be explained as being due to the citation of some collection of Messianic passages in common use; but against this it must be observed that the passage quoted from Ps. 104⁴, which occurs naturally in the context in Heb. 1⁷, would not naturally be included in any collection of Messianic passages.

(20) Clem. xvii. 5.

Μωϋσῆς πιστὸς ἐν
ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐ-
κλήθη.

Heb. 3².

Ἰησοῦν, πιστὸν ὅντα
τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν, ὡς
καὶ Μωσῆς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ
οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

Num. 12⁷.

ὁ θεράπων μου
Μωυσῆς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ
οἴκῳ μου πιστός ἐστιν.

The passage might be based on Num. 12⁷, but the

substitution of *αὐτοῦ* for *μοῦ* suggests the influence of the Hebrews.

Cf. Clem. xlivi. 1 and Heb. 3⁵.

(21) Clem. xxxvi. 1.

Ιησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν.

Heb. 2¹⁸, 3¹.

ἐν φῷ γὰρ πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθείς, δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι . . . κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν.

It seems probable that we have in this passage a reminiscence of the Hebrews. Cf. Clem. lxi. 3 and lxiv.

d

(22) Clem. xvii. 1.

μυμπτὰ γενώμεθα κάκείνων οἴτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· λέγωμεν δὲ ‘Ηλίαν καὶ Ἐλισταίε, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκήλ, τοὺς προφήτας, πρὸς τούτους καὶ τοὺς μεμαρτυρημένους.

Heb. 11^{87, 89}.

περιῆλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν, ὑστερούμενοι, θλιβόμενοι, κακουχούμενοι . . . καὶ οὐτοὶ πάντες, μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως, οὐκ ἐκομίσαντο τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν.

It would at first sight appear that we have in the passage of Clement a probable reminiscence of the passage in the Hebrews, but against this it must be observed:—

1. That the author of the Hebrews is very possibly using some uncanonical source.

2. That it is, therefore, quite possible that the passage in Clement is founded upon this source rather than on Hebrews, and that the reference to Elijah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel points in this direction.

(23) Clem. xix. 2.

πολλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετειλήφότες πράξεων ἀπανδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχης παραδεδομένου ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκοπόν, καὶ ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ κτίστην τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, καὶ ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπέσι καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσαις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς τῆς εἰρήνης εὐεργεσίαις τε κολληθῶμεν.

Heb. 12¹.

τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς, τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὅγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα καὶ τὴν εὐπερίστατον ἀμαρτίαν δι’ ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα, ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχήγον καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν.

There is little correspondence in phrase, but a strong similarity in general conception. But if the preceding passage is founded upon some uncanonical document, the influence of the document might also extend to the present one.

(24) Clem. xxi. 9.

Heb. 4¹².

ἐρευνητής γάρ ἐστιν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων οὐδὲν ηπονεῖ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργής . . . καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων ἐστίν, καὶ ὅταν θέλῃ ἀνελεῖ αὐτήν. καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας.

It seems possible that we have here a reminiscence of the Hebrews, but it must be noticed :—

1. We have ἐρευνητής instead of κριτικός.

2. The subject of the sentence is not the same ; in Hebrews it is the Word of God, in Clement it seems to be the Fear of God.

3. The conception is found also in Philo ‘Quis rer. div. heres,’ 26, 27.

(25) Clem. xxvii. 1.

Heb. 10²³.

ταύτη οὖν τῇ ἐλπίδι προσδεδέσθωσαν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν τῷ πιστῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν.

πιστὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος.

Heb. 11¹¹.

ἐπεὶ πιστὸν ἡγήσατο τὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενον.

(26) Clem. xxvii. 2.

Heb. 6¹⁸.

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ εἰ μὴ τὸ ψεύσασθαι.

ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι Θεόν.

(27) Clem. lvi. 4.

Heb. 12⁶.

ὅν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα νιὸν ὃν παραδέχεται . . .

ὅν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα νιὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.

Prov. 3¹².

ὅν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος ἐλέγχει¹ μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα νιὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.

¹ NA read παιδεύει.

C

Acts

C

(28) Clem. xviii. 1.

Acts 13²².

τί δὲ εἴπωμεν ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ Δανίδ; πρὸς δὲν εἴπεν ὁ Θεός· Εὑρον ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, Δανίδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί· ἐν ἐλέει αὐτονίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν.

ῆγειρε τὸν Δαβὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα, φῷ καὶ εἴπε μαρτυρήσας, Εὗρον Δαβὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου.

Ps. 88 (89)²¹.

εὐρον Δανεὶδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἐν καὶ ζητήσει Κύριος ἔαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον
ἐλέει¹ δγίφ ἔχριστα αὐτόν.

1 Sam. 13¹⁴.¹ B^a ελεω (R ?), B^bNA(R ?)T ελαιω.

It is to be noticed in the passages that:—

1. Clement and the author of the Acts combine phrases from the Psalm and from 1 Samuel.

2. Clement and the Acts both insert the words *τὸν τοῦ Ιεσσαῖ*, which are not read either in the Psalm or in 1 Samuel.

3. Clement and Acts agree in reading *ἄνδρα*, Ps. 88²¹ reads *δοῦλον*, and 1 Sam. 13¹⁴ reads *ἄνθρωπον*.

There are, however, certain differences between Clement and the Acts:—

1. Clement finishes the quotation with the words *ἐν ἐλέει αἰωνίῳ ἔχριστα αὐτόν*, agreeing with the Psalm.

2. Acts concludes the quotation with *ὅς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου* (cf. Isa. 44²⁸), for which there is no authority either in the LXX, or in the Hebrew of the Psalm, or of 1 Sam. 13¹⁴.

The phenomena of the passages are thus somewhat complicated; the conclusion to which we incline is that Clement intended to quote Ps. 88²¹—this would seem to be indicated by the conclusion of the passage—but that he has possibly been influenced by a recollection of the passage as it is quoted in Acts 13²². It seems difficult otherwise to account for the combination of the passages from the Psalm and from 1 Samuel, and for the addition of the words *τὸν τοῦ Ιεσσαῖ*, which is found both in Acts and in Clement.

It must, however, be observed that these suggestions do not account for the conclusion of the quotation in the Acts. It may be suggested that this is simply an example of the inaccuracy which may be due to quotation from memory. But it may also be suggested that the form of the quotation in Acts may be due to some other cause, e.g. the possible influence of some collection of Davidic or Messianic passages. It is possible that such collections of O.T. passages may have been current in Apostolic times. Such a collection might explain the phenomena presented by the passages in Clement

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and in the Acts without requiring any direct dependence of the one upon the other.

d

(29) Clem. ii. 1.

πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε μηδὲν
ἀλλαζονευόμενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον
ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ηδιον διδόντες ἢ
λαμβάνοντες, τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἀρκούμενοι.

Acts 20³⁵.

μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ
Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε, Μακά-
ριον ἔστι μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν.

The phrase in Clement finds a parallel in the words of our Lord quoted by St. Paul, but we do not feel that the circumstances are such that we are compelled to think that Clement has the passage in the Acts in his mind.

1. St. Paul is quoting an otherwise unrecorded saying of our Lord's, which may have been known to Clement simply as a saying of our Lord current among Christian men.

2. It is possible that the phrase in Clement has no direct relation to any particular saying of our Lord, but represents a conception current among Christians.

(30) Clem. lix. 2.

ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς.

Acts 26¹⁸.

ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς.

Cf. Col. 1¹³ and 1 Peter 2⁹, under (42) and (49).

Titus

e

(31) Clem. i. 3.

Titus 2^{4, 5}.

γυναιξὶν τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ
καὶ ἀγρῇ συνειδῆσει πάντα ἐπιμελεῖν
παρηγγέλλετε, στεργούσας καθηκόντως
τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔαυτῶν¹ ἐν τε τῷ κανόνι
τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν
οἰκον σεμῶς οἰκουργεῖν¹ ἐδιδάσκετε,
πάντα σωφρονούσας.

ἴνα σωφρονίζωσι τὰς νέας φιλάν-
δρους εἶναι, φιλοτέκνους, σώφρονας,
ἀγνάς, οἰκουργούς², ἀγαθάς, ὑπο-
τασσομένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἄνδρασιν, ἕνα
μὴ δ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ βλασφημῆται·

¹ L. regere; S. curam gerentes; C. (e rasura) οἰκουρεῖν. ² ΝοD οἰκουρούς.

The passage in Clement contains a number of phrases which correspond with those of Titus.

δηγῃ συνειδῆσει.
στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας
ἔαυτῶν.

ἀγνάς.
φιλάνδρους.

ἐν τε τῷ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ἵπαρ- ὑποτασσομένας τοῖς ἴδιοις ἀνδράσιν.
χούσας.
οἰκουργεῖν.
πάνν σωφρονούσας.

οἰκουργούσ.
σώφρονας.

There is a parallel list in Philo, *De Execr.* γυναικας σώφρονας
οἰκουροὺς καὶ φιλάνδρους.

The Committee is inclined to think that the correspondence of phrases, and especially of *οἰκουργεῖν* and *οἰκουργούσ*, cannot well be accounted for by chance, and makes it probable that the one writer is dependent on the other: they have, therefore, with some hesitation, decided to place the passage in Class C.

(I am inclined to think that the correspondence of the two passages may be accounted for by the conjecture that the author of Titus and Clement are both using some manual of directions for the moral life.—A. J. C.)

d

(32) Clem. ii. 7.

ἔτοιμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν.

Clem. xxiv. 4.

μὴ ἄργονς μηδὲ παρειμένους εἴναι
ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν.Titus 3¹.πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἔτοιμος
εἰναι.2 Tim. 2²¹.

εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡτοιμασμένον.

2 Tim. 3¹⁷.πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτισ-
μένος.2 Cor. 9⁸.ἴνα . . . περισσεύητε εἰς πᾶν ἔργον
ἀγαθὸν.

D

2 Corinthians

(33) Clem. xxxvi. 2.

διὰ τούτου ἀτενίζομεν εἰς τὰ ὕψη
τῶν οὐρανῶν· διὰ τούτου ἐνοπτριζό-
μεθα τὴν ἀμωμον καὶ ὑπερτάτην ὅψιν
ἀντοῦ.2 Cor. 3¹⁸.ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ
προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτρι-
ζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφού-
μεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ
ἀπὸ Κυρίου Πνεύματος.

The form of the two passages is very different, and there is little correspondence between the conceptions; but the phrases *ἐνοπτριζόμεθα* and *κατοπτριζόμενοι* might seem to suggest some connexion.

Dr. Lightfoot has, however, pointed out in his note that there is a parallel phrase in Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 33 μηδὲ κατοπτρισαμνη ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ή ἐν σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ. It would appear that the phrase is not distinctive enough to enable us to infer that Clement knew this Epistle.

UNCLASSED

(34) Clem. v. 5, 6.

2 Cor. 11²³⁻²⁷.

Clement's enumeration of St. Paul's sufferings might at first sight seem to suggest this Epistle; but these would probably be known to Clement apart from the account in the Epistle, and one of his statements, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, is obviously not derived from the Epistle.

<i>Galatians</i>	d	
(35) Clem. ii. 1.	Gal. 3 ¹ .	Deut. 28 ⁶⁶ .

καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ οἷς κατ' ὁφθαλμούς καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωή σου
ἢν πρὸ ὁφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προ- κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν
εγράφη ἔσταυρωμένος. ὁφθαλμῶν σου.

It has been suggested that St. Paul has been influenced by Deuteronomy, and that Clement is affected both by Deuteronomy and by St. Paul.

But the coincidence appears to be too uncertain to serve as the foundation for the conclusion that Clement was acquainted with Galatians.

(36) Clem. v. 2.

Gal. 2⁹.

The word *στόλοι* is used in both passages in connexion with the Apostles and leading men in the Church.

Dr. Lightfoot, however, has pointed out in his note that the use of the word seems to have been very common in this sense in Jewish writers.

<i>Ephesians</i>	d	
(37) Clem. xxxvi. 2.		Eph. 4 ¹⁸ .

These passages have already been considered in connexion with Rom. 1²¹, see (5). It should be observed that Clement's ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια corresponds with Ephesians ἐσκοτισμένοι (NAB, W. & H. ἐσκοτωμένοι) τῇ διανοίᾳ.

(38) Clem. xlvi. 6.

ἡ οὐχὶ ἔνα θεὸν ἔχομεν καὶ ἔνα Χριστὸν καὶ ἔν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; καὶ μία κλῆσις ἐν Χριστῷ;

Eph. 4⁴⁻⁶.

ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν Πνεῦμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μᾶς ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν, εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἰς Θεός καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν. ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

It is noticeable that there is not only a general resemblance between these two passages, but a close correspondence in phrase—

Clem.

1. ἔνα Θεόν.
2. ἔνα Χριστόν.
3. ἔν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.
4. μία κλῆσις ἐν Χριστῷ.

Eph.

1. εἰς Θεός.
2. εἰς Κύριος.
3. ἐν Πνεῦμα and ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
4. ἐκλήθητε ἐν μᾶς ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως.

Cf. Hermas, *Sym.* ix. 13, 5, and 18, 4.

At first sight it would appear probable that Clement has the passage in Ephesians in his mind; but we must remember that the passages both in Ephesians and in Clement are very possibly founded upon some liturgical forms, and it thus seems impossible to establish any dependence of Clement upon Ephesians.

(39) Clem. lix. 3.

ἀνοίξας τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

Eph. 1¹⁸.

πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

Cf. Clem. xxxvi. 2.

The phrase is noticeable, and it should be observed that the preceding sentences in Clement have considerable affinity with Eph. 1⁴⁻⁶, 17.

Philippians

d

(40) Clem. iii. 4.

μηδὲ . . . πορεύεσθαι μηδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθῆκον τῷ Χριστῷ.

Clem. xxi. 1.

ἔαν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτεύόμενοι . . .

Phil. 1²⁷.

μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε.

A possible reminiscence, but the metaphorical use of the

phrases of citizenship in connexion with the moral and spiritual life was probably common.

(41) Clem. xlvi. 1, 2.

'Αναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. τί ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας. ἔγραψεν;

The phrase *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, &c., is peculiar, and it seems clear that Clement is using it in the same sense as St. Paul.

But it would scarcely appear that this is enough to prove that Clement takes the phrase from Philippians.

Colossians

d

(42) Clem. lxi. 2.

δι' οὐ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ ἀγωστίας εἰς ἐπίγυνωσιν δόξης ὄντος αὐτοῦ.

Col. 1^{12, 13.}

εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἰκανώσαντι ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν διγίων ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ὃς ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ νιοῦ τῆς ἀγάπτης αὐτοῦ.

Cf. also Col. 1^{9.}

ἴνα πληρωθῆτε τὴν ἐπίγυνωσιν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ . . .

The metaphor of transference from darkness to light is worth observing, but it is also found in Acts 26¹⁸ and 1 Peter 2⁹, see (30) and (48).

We cannot, therefore, assert that Clement is dependent upon Colossians.

UNCLASSED

(43) Clem. ii. 4.

ἀγῶν ἥν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος—

Col. 2^{1.}

θελω γάρ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ἔχω ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν—

1 Timothy

d

(44) Clem. lxi. 2.

σὺ γάρ, δέσποτα ἐπουράνιε, βασιλεὺ τῶν αἰώνων.

1 Tim. 1^{17.}

τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων, ἀφθάρτῳ, ἀδοράτῳ, μόνῳ Θεῷ . . .

The phrase is striking, but Dr. Lightfoot has pointed out in his notes on the passage, that it is probably based upon

Jewish liturgical forms, and the phrase itself occurs in Tobit 13⁶, 10, and in Apoc. 15³ (N and C read *aiώνων*; N^cA and B read *έθνων*).

UNCLASSED

(45) Clem. xxix. 1.

1 Tim. 2⁸.

προσελθωμεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ὄσιότητι ἐπαίροντας δόσιους χεῖρας χωρὶς ψυχῆς, ἀγνὰς καὶ ἀμάντους χεῖρας ὅργης καὶ διαλογισμοῦ. αἱροντες πρὸς αὐτόν.

The phrase appears to be used by many writers. Cf. Dr. Lightfoot's note.

1 Peter

d

(46) Clem. vii. 2, 4.

1 Pet. 1^{18, 19}.

διὸ ἀπολίπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ ματαίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῖ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα, . . . ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γνῶμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ θεῷ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ἐπήνεγκεν.

εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ . . .

These passages present many points of correspondence of phrase and thought, but the conception of redemption through the blood of Christ is not peculiar to St. Peter's Epistles in the N. T., and may well be supposed to have been current among all Christians.

(47) Clem. xxx. 1, 2.

Ἄγιον οὖν μερὶς ὑπάρχοντες ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ πάντα, φεύγοντες καταλαλίας, μαράσ τε καὶ ἀνάγνους συμπλοκάς, μέθας τε καὶ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ βδελυκτὰς ἐπιθυμίας, μυστερὰν μοιχείαν βδελυκτὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. Θεὸς γάρ, φησίν, ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

1 Pet. 2^{1, 5}.

ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ φθόνους καὶ πάσας καταλαλίας ὡς ἀρτιγένητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε.

1 Pet. 5⁵ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν.

Cf. Jas. 4⁶ διὸ λέγει, ὁ Θεὸς κτλ.

Prov. 3³⁴.

Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

The correspondence of thought with 1 Peter is interesting, but the last words are probably quoted from Prov. 3³⁴, and

the subject of Clement's passage is probably suggested by the quotation from Deuteronomy, contained in the previous chapter.

(48) Clem. xlix. 5.

ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

Prov. 10¹² LXX.

πάντας δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει φιλία.

1 Pet. 4⁸.

ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

Prov. 10¹², Heb.

'But love covereth all transgressions.'

Jas. 5²⁰.

ὅς ἐπιστρέψας ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου, καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

1. Clement and 1 Peter agree exactly in the terms of the passage; they differ from the Hebrew text of Proverbs in reading 'a multitude' instead of 'all,' and they differ entirely from the LXX text of Proverbs. It would, therefore, at first sight seem probable that Clement is quoting the phrase from 1 Peter.

2. A. Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 248) has argued that this phrase was originally a saying of our Lord, and brings forward the following parallels.

Didasc. ii. 3.

ὅτι λέγει Κύριος· ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

Clem. Alex. Paedagog. iii. 12.

ναὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ ἀγάπης ἀγάπη, φησί, καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ περὶ πολιτείας ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.

2 Clem. xvi. 4.

ἀγάπη δὲ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

Resch urges that the author of the *Didascalia* clearly regards the phrase as a saying of our Lord's, but an examination of the context shows plainly that the author cites with the same formula, 'the Lord saith,' passages from the O. T. He also argues that the fact that Clement of Alexandria sets this phrase beside a well-known saying of our Lord, shows that he looked upon it as having been spoken by Him; but again an examination of the context makes it plain that Clement is citing indifferently phrases from the Old and New Testaments as embodying the instruction of the *Paedagogus*.

It appears, therefore, that these parallels do not justify the

conclusion that 1 Peter and Clement are quoting a traditional saying of our Lord.

3. It may, however, be suggested that Clement and 1 Peter are both quoting from some unknown source, i. e. another Greek version of the passage in Proverbs, or some Apocryphal writing, and it does not seem therefore that we can say more than that it is possible that Clement is quoting the passage from 1 Peter.

(49) Clem. l ix. 2. 1 Pet. 2⁹.

See under Colossians (42).

UNCLASSED

(50) Clem. Introduction. 1 Pet. 1^{1, 2}.

There are some parallel phrases, but they are not sufficiently important or distinctive to require special discussion.

(51) Clem. ii. 2. 1 Pet. 4¹⁹.
ἀγαθοποιᾶν. *ἐν ἀγαθοποιᾷ.*

The word occurs in the N. T. only in 1 Peter, and is not found in the LXX or other Greek versions of the O. T. and Apocrypha; and apparently it does not occur in classical literature.

(52) Clem. ii. 4. 1 Pet. 2¹⁷.
τῆς ἀδελφότητος. *τὴν ἀδελφότητα.*
τῇ ἀδελφότητι. 1 Pet. 5⁹.

The word occurs in the N. T. only in 1 Peter; it is found in the LXX of 1 Macc. 12^{10, 17}, but in the sense of 'brotherly affection.' It does not apparently occur in classical literature.

1 John	d	1 John 4 ¹⁸ .
(53) Clem. xlix. 5.		
ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ	οἱ δὲ φοβούμενος οὐ τετελείωται ἐν	
ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.	τῇ ἀγάπῃ.	
Clem. I. 3.		
ἄλλ' οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες . . .		

There is a verbal similarity between the first passage in Clement and that in John, but the meaning is different; the

meaning in the second passage may perhaps be the same as in John.

Apocalypse

(54) Clem. xxxiv. 3.

προλέγει γάρ ἡμῖν·
'Ιδοὺ ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὁ
μισθὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσ-
ώπου αὐτοῦ, ἀποδούναι
ἔκαστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον
αὐτοῦ.

d

Apoc. 22¹².

ἰδού, ἔρχομαι ταχύ,
καὶ ὁ μισθὸς μου μετ'
ἔμοι, ἀποδοῦναι ἔκαστῳ
ώς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.

Isa. 40¹⁰.

ἰδοὺ Κύριος, Κύριος
μετὰ ἵσχυος ἔρχεται . . .
ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ'
αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐναν-
τίον αὐτοῦ.

Isa. 62¹¹.

ἰδοὺ ὁ σωτήρ σοι
παραγέγονεν ἔχων τὸν
ἐαντοῦ μισθόν, καὶ τὸ
ἔργον αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσ-
ώπου αὐτοῦ.

Prov. 24¹².

καὶ ὁ πλάστας πνοὴν
πᾶσιν αὐτὸς οἶδεν πάντα,
ὅς ἀποδίδωσιν ἔκαστῳ
κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

The passages in Clement and the Apocalypse seem to be made up of a combination of phrases from Isaiah and Proverbs. The combination is noticeable, but may perhaps be accounted for by the hypothesis that it may have been made in some earlier Apocalyptic work. Cf. Barnabas (27).

GOSPELS.

The Synoptic Tradition.

(55) Clem. xiii. 1 f.

μᾶλιστα μεμνημένοι
τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου
Ἰησοῦν, οὓς ἐλάλησεν
διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ
μακροθυμίαν. οὕτως γάρ
1 εἶπεν· Ἐλέατε ἴνα ἐλεη-
2 θῆτε, ἀφίετε ἴνα ἀφεθῇ
3 ὑμῖν· ως ποιεῖτε, οὕτω
4 ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν· ως
δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται
5 ὑμῖν· ως κρίνετε, οὕτως

Matt. 5⁷, &c.

5⁷ μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεή-
μονες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθή-
σονται.

6¹² καὶ ἄφετε ἡμῖν
τὰ ὄφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ώς
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοὺς
ὄφειλέτας ἡμῶν.

6¹⁴ ἐάν γάρ ἀφῆτε
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ παρα-
πτώματα αὐτῶν, ἀφήσει
καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ

Luke 6^{31, 36-38}.

6³¹ καὶ καθὼς θέλετε
ἴνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄν-
θρωποι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε
αὐτοῖς ὄμοιώς.

6³⁶ γίνεσθε οἰκτίρ-
μονες, καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ
ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστί.
καὶ μὴ κρίνετε καὶ οὐ μὴ
κριθῆτε; καὶ μὴ κατα-
δικάζετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κατα-
δικασθῆτε· ἀπολύτετε, καὶ

6 κριθήσεσθε· ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηγή στευθήσεται ὑμῖν^{1.} φέρε μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται² ὑμῖν.

¹ Lat. omits the clause.

² Lat. reads remetietur.

οὐράνιος, ἐν δὲ μὴ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.

7¹ μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε^{*} ἐν φέρε μέτρῳ μετρηθήσεται, καὶ ἐν φέρε μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

7¹² πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἀνθελλητε^{*} ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἀνθρώποι, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιείτε αὐτοῖς^{*} οὕτως γάρ ἔστιν δόνομος καὶ οἱ προφῆται.

Clem. Alex.

Stromata, ii. 18, 91.

Ἐλέατε, φῆστὸν δὲ Κύριος, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτως ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς δίδοτε οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεσθε· ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν· φέρε μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Didasc. ii. 42.

ὅτι λέγει οἱ Κύριοι· φέρε κρίματι κρίνετε, κριθήσεσθε, καὶ ὡς καταδικάζετε, καταδικασθήσεσθε.

Polycarp ii. 3.

μηνημονεύοντες δὲ ὅση εἰπεν δὲ Κύριος διδάσκων μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλέατε, ἵνα¹ ἐλεηθῆτε, φέρε μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

¹ Lat. et.

ἀπολυθήσεσθε· δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον καλόν, πεπιεσμένον, σεσαλευμένον ὑπερεκχυνόμενον, δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν. φέρε μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Didasc. ii. 21.

οὐδός δὲ εἰρήνης ἔστιν δὲ σωτὴρ ὑμῶν [Ιησοῦς δὲ Χριστός], δοὺς καὶ εἴπεν· ἀφετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· [δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν]^{2.}

² Syr. Lat. omit δίδοτε ... ὑμῖν.

Macarius Aegypt., Hom.

xxxvii. 3.

καθὼς ἐνετεῖλατο, ἀφετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

The phenomena of the passage are very complex.

I. The passage numbered 1 has no phrase directly corresponding to it in any of our Gospels, but might be founded on Matt. 5^{7.}

The passage numbered 2 has no proper parallel in St. Matthew, but is near Luke ἀπολύετε, &c.

No. 3 has no proper parallel in our Gospels, but may be compared with Matt. 7¹² and Luke 6³¹.

No. 4 has no parallel in Matthew, but is very near Luke 6³⁸, only Clement has ὡς and οὕτως, while Luke has καὶ.

No. 5 is parallel to Matt. 7¹ and Luke 6³⁷, but Clement has ὡς and οὗτως, while Matthew has μή and ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε, and Luke μή and καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε.

No. 6 has no parallel in either Gospel.

No. 7 is parallel to Matt. 7¹ and Luke 6³⁶, but Matthew has ἐν φῷ for φῷ, and Luke inserts γάρ after φῷ, and reads ἀντιμετρηθήσεται.

II. Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 136) has collected a number of parallels.

Clement of Alexandria has the passage exactly as in Clement with a few unimportant variations.

Clement of Alexandria's use of Clement of Rome is well established, and this fact, therefore, requires no special explanation.

In Polycarp some of Clement's phrases recur, cf. (75).

No. 1 is exactly the same, but Lat. reads *et*.

No. 2 is in Polycarp, but he reads καὶ ἀφεθήσεται instead of ἵνα ἀφεθῇ.

Nos. 3 and 4 are not in Polycarp.

No. 5 is found in Polycarp, but in the same form as in St. Matthew, not in Clement's form.

No. 6 is not in Polycarp.

No. 7 is found in Polycarp, but he omits Clement's ἐν αὐτῷ, and reads ἀντιμετρηθήσεται like Luke, yet he omits Luke's γάρ.

Didasc. ii. 21.

No. 2 is in the same form as in Polycarp.

No. 4 reads exactly as in Luke (but see critical note to text), omitting Clement's ὡς and οὗτως.

Didasc. ii. 42.

No. 5 occurs in the form of Matthew, while the clause καὶ ὡς καταδικάζετε, &c., is parallel to Luke.

Macarius, Hom. xxxvii. 3.

No. 2 reads as Polycarp.

III. To sum up these phenomena—

No. 1 is found in Clem. Alex. and Polycarp.

No. 2 is in Clem. Alex., Polycarp, Didasc., and Macarius.

No. 3 is found only in Clem. Alex.

No. 4 is found in Clem. Alex. and Didasc., but in the latter in the form of Luke.

No. 5 is found in Clem. Alex. and Polycarp, but in the latter in the form of Matthew.

No. 6 is found only in Clem. Alex.

No. 7 is found in Clem. Alex. and Polycarp, but in the latter in a form which approaches nearer to that of Matthew and Luke than that of Clem. Rom.

It must also be observed that except by Clem. Alex. the passage of Clem. Rom. is only partially reproduced, and so far as it is reproduced by Polycarp, it is in a totally different order.

IV. The Committee concludes that in the circumstances it is impossible to say with any confidence what is the source of Clement's quotations. It may be urged that they represent an inaccurate quotation of Matthew and Luke made from memory, but the recurrence in Polycarp of the phrase marked 1, and in Polycarp, Didasc., and Macarius of that marked 2, makes this less probable. On the other hand, the fact that the series of phrases as it is found in Polycarp and the Didasc. is incomplete, and not in the same order as in Clem. Rom., seems to show that there is no one documentary source common to all these writers.

We incline to think that we have in Clem. Rom. a citation from some written or unwritten form of 'Catechesis' as to our Lord's teaching, current in the Roman Church, perhaps a local form which may go back to a time before our Gospels existed.

(56) Clem. xlvi.	Matt. 26 ²⁴ .	Mark 14 ²¹ .	Luke 17 ¹ , 2.
7, 8.	οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀν-	ὅτι οὐ μὲν νίδος τοῦ	'Ανένδεκτόν ἔστι
μηῆσθητε τῶν λό-	θρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὐ	ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει, κα-	τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ
γων 'Ιησοῦ τοῦ Κυ-	δούς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θὼς γέγραπται περὶ ἐλθεῖν πλήν οὐαὶ δὶ	παραδίδοται· καλὸν αὐτοῦ· οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀν-	οῦ ἔρχεται. λυσι-
ρίουν ήμῶν'	παραδίδοται· καλὸν αὐτοῦ· οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀν-	θρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' οὐ	τοπεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος
εἶπεν γάρ· Οὐαὶ ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεν-	θρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' οὐ	τελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος	
τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ· νήθη ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς ἐ-	οῦ νίδος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μυλικὸς περίκειται		
καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ κείνος.	παραδίδοται· καλὸν περὶ τὸν τράχηλον		
ἐγεννήθη, ἦ ἔνα τῶν	ἡν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεν-	αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔριπται	
ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκαν-	νήθη ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς ἐκεῖ-	εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,	
δαλίσαι· κρείττον ἦν λίση ἔνα τῶν μι-	νος.	ἡ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ	
	18 ⁶ f.		

αὐτῷ περιτεθῆναι μύ- κρῶν τούτων τῶν λον καὶ καταποντι- πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ, σθῆναι εἰς τὴν θά- συμφέρει αὐτῷ, ἵνα λίση ἔνα τῶν μικρῶν λασσαν, ἡ ἔνα τῶν κρεμασθῆ μύλος ὄνικὸς μικρῶν μου σκανδα- περὶ τὸν τράχηλον λίσαι¹. αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταπον- τούτων τῶν πιστευ-

¹ ἐκλεκτῶν μου δια- τισθῆ ἐν τῷ πελά- στρέψαι, Clem. Alex., γει τῆς θαλάσσης. Syr., Lat. . . πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ χηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ βέ- οὐ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρ- λασσαν.
χεται.

We have here the combination of the words spoken by our Lord with regard to Judas, recorded by Matthew and Mark, with a saying which is recorded in another connexion in the three Synoptic Gospels. It is not impossible that Clement, quoting from memory, might have combined some words from the one context with the more general saying, and that he may thus be quoting from one or other of the Gospels. But it is just as probable that we have here, as in Clem. xiii, a quotation from some form of catechetical instruction in our Lord's doctrine.

(57) Clem. xxiv. 5.
ἔξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων.

Matt. 13³; Mark 4³; Luke 8⁵.
ἔξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων.

(58) Clem. xv. 2.

λέγει γάρ που; οὗτος
ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χειλεσίν με-
τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν
πόρρω ἀπεστιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

Matt. 15⁸.

καλῶς προεφήτευσε
περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας
λέγων, ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς
χειλεσί με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ
καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω
ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

Isa. 29¹³.

καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος, ἐγ-
γίζει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος
ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ἐν τοῖς χειλεσίν αὐτῶν
τιμῶσίν με, ἡ δὲ καρδία
αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ'
ἐμοῦ.

Mark 7⁶.

Practically the
same.

The quotation is probably from Isaiah, but the form of the quotation in Clement is the same as that in the Gospels: cf. 2 Clem. (33).

9⁴².

τῶν μικρῶν τούτων
ἔνα.

IGNATIUS

INTRODUCTION.

BESIDES his references to books of N.T., none of which stands as a direct quotation, Ignatius occasionally quotes from, or refers to, books of O.T. The passages are these:—

- (a) Eph. v. 3. Prov. 3³⁴.
γέγραπται γάρ· Ὑπερηφάνους δὲ Κύριος ὑπερηφάνους ἀντιτάσσεται.
Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται.

This quotation is discussed below (76). Ignatius deviates from the order of the words, besides substituting Θεός for Κύριος.

- (b) Eph. xv. 1. Ps. 33⁹.
εἶπεν καὶ ἐγένετο. εἶπεν καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν.

Here ἐγένετο is a better translation of the original than ἐγεννήθησαν; but we need not suppose that Ignatius had access to the Hebrew text.

- (c) Magn. x. 3. Isa. 66¹⁸.
ῳ πᾶσα γλώσσα πιστεύσασα εἰς συναγαγέν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς Θεὸν συνήχθη. γλώσσας.

A loose reference.

- (d) Magn. xii. 1. Prov. 18¹⁷.
ὁ δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατίγορος. δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατίγορος.

Ignatius here follows the LXX. The Hebrew gives quite a different sense: ‘the first man is upright in his suit; his neighbour then cometh and searcheth him out’ (Lightfoot).

- (e) Magn. xiii. 1. Ps. 1³.
ἴνα πάντα ὅσα ποιεῖτε κατευοδωθῆτε. πάντα ὅσα ἀν ποιῇ κατευοδωθῆσεται.

- (f) Trall. viii. 2. Isa. 52⁵.
οὐαὶ γὰρ δι' οὐ ἐπὶ ματαιότητι τὸ διορμά μου ἐπὶ τινῶν βλασφημεῖται. δὲ λέγει ὁ Κύριος, δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ δονομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

The words are also quoted indirectly by St. Paul (Rom. 2²⁴).

Polycarp (Phil. x. 3) quotes them similarly to Ignatius, and so do the Apostolical Constitutions in two places. Both these last are probably borrowing directly from Ignatius.

- (g) Smyrn. i. 2. Isa. 49²², 62¹⁰.
ἴνα ἄρη σύστημον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Cf. also Isa. 5²⁶. LXX has *αἴρειν σύσσημον*.

A comparison of these references, and of those in Class B from N. T., will show that Ignatius always quotes from memory; that he is inexact even as compared with his contemporaries; and that he appears sometimes to have a vague recollection of a phrase when he is not thinking of, or wishing to remind his readers of, the original context.

EPISTLES AND ACTS.

A

1 Corinthians

b

- (i) Eph. xvi. 1. τι Cor. 6^ο, 10.
μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἱ
οἰκοβόροι βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρο-
νομήσουσιν. μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὕτε πόρνοι, . . .
οὕτε μοιχοί . . . βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κλη-
ρονομήσουσι.

Cf. also Philad. iii Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· εἴ τις σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ. These passages also resemble Gal. 5²¹ (43), where διχοστασίαι and αἱρέσεις are mentioned (cf. σχίζοντι in Philad. iii). οἰκοφθόροι in Ignatius probably means 'seducers,' especially μοιχοί: if, however, we understand the 'house' to be the *Church* (so Hilgenfeld), we may also compare 1 Cor. 3¹⁷ εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ Θεός.

- (2) Eph. xviii. 1. i Cor. I^{18, 20}.

σταυροῦ, ὃ ἐστὶ σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητής; ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν; ὁ λόγος γὰρ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρίᾳ ἔστιν, τοῖς¹ δὲ σωζόμενοις ἡμῖν δύναμις Θεοῦ ἐστίν... ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητής τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου;

St. Paul's words (*ποῦ σοφός*, &c.) are a paraphrase of Isa. 33¹⁸; cf. also 19¹¹ sq. That Ignatius is quoting St. Paul is made more certain by the echo of 1 Cor. 1¹⁸ in the preceding sentence. The phrase *σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ* occurs Gal. 5¹¹ (44).

(3) Magn. x. 3.

1 Cor. 5⁷.

ὑπέρθεσθε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν καὶ ἐνοξίσασαν, καὶ ἡτε νέον φύραμα.
μεταβάλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην, ὃς ἔστι
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

A free quotation; but there can be little doubt that Ignatius had this passage in his mind.

(4) Rom. v. 1.

1 Cor. 4⁴.

ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικάιωμαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικάιωμαι.

Ignatius quotes from memory; there is no difference in meaning between *παρὰ τοῦτο* and *ἐν τούτῳ*.

(5) Rom. ix. 2.

1 Cor. 15⁸⁻¹⁰.

ἔγώ γάρ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων, ὡσπερεὶ τῷ λέγεσθαι οὐδὲ γάρ ἄξιος εἰμι, ὅν ἔκτρώματι, ὥφθη κάμοι. ἔγώ γάρ . . . ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτρωμα, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰμὶ ἴκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος ἥλεγμα τις εἶναι, ἦν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. . . χάριτι δὲ Θεοῦ εἰμι ὃ εἰμι.

C

(6) Eph. xv. 3.

1 Cor. 3¹⁶.

πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ ἡμῶν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὡμεν αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.
ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν Θεός.

Cf. also 1 Cor. 6¹⁹ and 2 Cor. 6¹⁶. See (39). Zahn without reason compares Apoc. 21³.

(7) Trall. ii. 3.

1 Cor. 4¹.

δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν διακόνους ὅντας οὔτως ἡμᾶς λογιζέσθω ἀνθρωπος,
μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντας ὡς ὑπηρέτας Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμους
τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν. μυστηρίων Θεοῦ.

Cf. also 1 Cor. 10³³ ἔγὼ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω.

(8) Trall. v. 1.

1 Cor. 3^{1, 2}.

φοβοῦμαι μὴ μηποῖος οὐσιν ὑμῖν ὡς μηποῖος ἐν Χριστῷ . . . οὕπω
βλάβην παραθῶ.

In the next sentence οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι is suggested by the same passage.

(9) Trall. xii. 3.

1 Cor. 9²⁷.

ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὑρεθῶ. μήπως . . . αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι.

The idea of a race seems to be present in Ignatius as well as in St. Paul.

(10) Rom. iv. 3.

1 Cor. 7²².

ἀπελεύθερος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου.

Cf. also 1 Cor. 9¹.

(11) Rom. vi. 1.

καλὸν μοι ἀποθανεῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦν
Χριστὸν (v. l. εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν), ἡ
βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς.

1 Cor. 9¹⁵.

καλὸν γάρ μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν
ἡ τὸ καύχημά μου οὐδεὶς κενώσει.

(12) Philad. iv. 1.

μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον εἰς
ἔνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.

1 Cor. 10¹⁶, 17.

τὸ ποτήριον . . . οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἔστιν
τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον
δὲ κλῷμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔστιν; ὅτε εἰς ἄρτος, ἐν
σώμα oἱ πολλοὶ ἔσμεν.

(13) Philad. vii. 1.

τὸ πνεῦμα . . . τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει.

Cf. also 1 Cor. 14²⁵ and Eph. 5^{12, 13}.1 Cor. 2¹⁰.

τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ.

(14) Smyrn. Inscript.

ἀνυστερήτῳ οὕσῃ πάντος χαρί-
σματος.

ώστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν
μηδενὶ χαρίσματι.

1 Cor. 1⁷.

d

(15) Eph. ii. 2.

κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν.

1 Cor. 16¹⁸.

(16) Eph. ii. 3.

κατηρτισμένοι.

1 Cor. 1¹⁰.In both passages the idea of *unity* is prominent.

(17) Eph. iv. 2.

μέλη ὄντας, &c.

1 Cor. 6¹⁵.

Cf. also Trall. xi. 2 ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ, and with these compare
Rom. 12^{4, 5} and Eph. 5³⁰.

(18) Eph. viii. 2.

οἱ σαρκικοί, &c.

1 Cor. 2¹⁴.The resemblance is closer to Rom. 8^{5, 8}. See below (35).

(19) Eph. ix. 1.

ώς ὄντες λίθοι ναοῦ, &c.

1 Cor. 3¹⁰⁻¹⁷.Cf. also Eph. 2^{20 f.}, and possibly 1 Pet. 2⁵.

(20) Eph. x. 2 and xx. 1.

ἐδραῖοι τῇ πίστει.

1 Cor. 15⁵⁸.Cf. also Col. 1²³, (64) a possible allusion.

(21) Eph. xi. 1.

ἔσχατοι καιροί, &c.

1 Cor. 7²⁹.There is probably no reference to 1 John 1¹⁸.

- (22) Eph. xvii. 2. 1 Cor. 1^{24, 30.}
 διὰ τί . . . ὁ Κύριος.
- (23) Eph. xx. 1. 1 Cor. 15^{45, 47.}
 τὸν καυνὸν ἀνθρωπον.
- See below on Eph. 2¹⁵, 4²⁴ (28).
- (24) Trall. vi. 1. 1 Cor. 7^{10.}
 οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη, &c.
- (25) Trall. xi. 2. 1 Cor. 12^{12.}
 ὅντας μέλη αὐτοῦ.
 See above (17).

Ignatius must have known this Epistle almost by heart. Although there are no *quotations* (in the strictest sense, with mention of the source), echoes of its language and thought pervade the whole of his writings in such a manner as to leave no doubt whatever that he was acquainted with the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

B

b

- Ephesians
 (26) Eph. Inscript.

τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει, Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ πρωτησμένῃ πρὸ αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον ἀτρεπτον, ἡγωμένη καὶ ἐκλεγεμένη ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ τῇ οὐσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσω, πλεύστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν ἀμῷῳ χαρᾷ χαίρειν.

A comparison of these two passages will show a very large number of correspondences, which Zahn undervalues when he calls them ‘not very certain echoes.’ The evidence is cumulative, and is not impaired by the fact that Ignatius applies to the Church collectively expressions which St. Paul applies to individual Christians, such adaptations being common to our author.

- (27) Polyc. v. 1. Eph. 5^{25.}
 παράγγελλε . . . ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους, ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
 Cf. also (29).

εὐλογήτος ὁ Θεός καὶ πατήρ . . . ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ . . . καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς . . . πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, εἶναι ἡμᾶς . . . ἀμώμους . . . προορίσας κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος . . . διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ . . . τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν . . . προορισθέντες . . . κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ . . . εἰς τὸ εἴναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης αὐτοῦ.

ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡγάπησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

c

- (28) Eph. xx. 1. Eph. 2¹⁵ and 4²⁴.
 τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον.
 Χριστόν.

St. Paul uses the phrase in a slightly different sense; but, as Lightfoot suggests, Ignatius may have taken ‘to put on the new man’ as meaning ‘to put on Christ,’ an explanation, we may add, which St. Paul would not have repudiated. Cf. also 1 Cor. 15⁴⁵ ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος.

- (29) Smyrn. i. 1. Eph. 2¹⁶.
 ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ. ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι.

The context in both passages contains a reference to Isaiah, as well as the common idea of Jew and Gentile as one body. Cf. also Eph. 1²³ and Col. 1¹⁸.

- (30) Polyc. i. 2. Eph. 4².
 πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ. ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ.

This correspondence is strengthened by the preceding words in Ignatius, τῆς ἐνώσεως φρόντιζε, ἡς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον, which should be compared with the following verse in Ephesians, σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος.

d

- (31) Eph. i. 1. Eph. 5¹.
 μιμητὰὶ ὅντες Θεοῦ.

Cf. also Eph. x. 3, μιμητὰὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, where the context is the same (forgiveness of injuries, &c.).

- (32) Eph. ix. 1. Eph. 2²⁰⁻²².
 λίθοι ναοῦ.

This may well be accounted for by 1 Cor. 3¹⁰⁻¹⁷; see (19). Compare also Col. 2⁷ and 1 Pet. 2⁵.

- (33) Eph. xix. Eph. 3⁹.
 πᾶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν. τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων . . . ἵνα γνωρισθῇ.

Cf. also Col. 1²⁶ (66).

- (34) Polyc. vi. 2. Eph. 6¹³⁻¹⁷.
 ὡς ὅπλα, &c.

The parts in the armour are differently assigned, and the metaphor was doubtless a favourite one in Christian preaching. Cf. too 1 Thess. 5⁸, where the resemblance is still slighter.

Though the correspondences between Ignatius and this Epistle are not nearly so numerous as in the case of 1 Corinthians, it may be considered almost certain that they are not accidental. Ignatius mentions St. Paul by name in Eph. xii, calling the Ephesians *συμβόται Παύλου τοῦ ἡγιασμένου*, a phrase which reminds us of St. Paul's frequent use of *μυστήριον* for the Gospel dispensation in this Epistle (Eph. 1⁹, 3³, 4⁹, 5³², 6¹⁹). The words of Ignatius (Eph. xii) *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστόλῃ* doubtless mean 'in every letter,' and are a pardonable exaggeration of the fact that the Apostle makes mention of the Ephesians in *five* of his Epistles besides that which bears their name.

Von der Goltz considers the literary dependence doubtful, in view of the difference in form of most of the supposed echoes, and of the fact that several of them have parallels also in Colossians, the Pastoral Epistles, or 1 Peter. The strength of the argument must rest mainly on the first passage quoted (26), in which the resemblances are numerous and striking; but even without it a strong case might be made out for the use of the Epistle by Ignatius.

C

Romans

(35) Eph. viii. 2.

οἱ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράστειν οὐ δύνανται οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά.

Rom. 8^{5, 8.}

οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ πνεύματος . . . οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες Θεῷ ἀρέσαντες οὐ δύνανται.

This passage may be from 1 Cor. 2¹⁴ (18), but the resemblance to Rom. 8^{5, 8} is rather closer: cf. also Gal. 5^{16, 17}. The use of the word *σάρξ* in an ethical sense is Pauline; in Ignatius it generally has an anti-docetic force.

(36) Eph. xix. 3.

καθηρεῖτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία, Θεοῦ ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περι- ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου εἰς καινό- πατήσωμεν.
τητα αὐδίον ζωῆς.

Rom. 6^{4.}

The phrase *καινότης ζωῆς* (= 'the new state which is life') is probably from St. Paul.

(37) Smyrn. i. 1.

*ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα,
νιὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν.*

Rom. 1⁸, 4.

*περὶ τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου
ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, τοῦ
ὅρισθέντος νιοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ
πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης.*

Cf. also Eph. xviii. 2 *ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος
δὲ ἄγιον.*

d

(38) Eph. Inscript.

τῇ εὐλογημένῃ . . . πληρώματι.

Rom. 15²⁹.

ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίᾳ.

2 Corinthians

d

(39) Eph. xv. 3.

*αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα
ἀμεν ναὸι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν θέος.*

2 Cor. 6¹⁶.

ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς Θεοῦ ἔσμεν ζῶντος.

The resemblance here is close, but may be sufficiently accounted for by 1 Cor. 3^{16, 27} and 6¹⁹: see (6).

(40) Trall. ix. 2.

2 Cor. 4¹⁴.

ἐγείραντος, &c.

'Apparently a reminiscence' (Lightfoot).

(41) Philad. vi. 3.

2 Cor. 1¹², 11⁹, 12¹⁶. Cf. 2⁵.

*εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου ὅτι εὐσυν-
εἰδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις
καυχήσασθαι . . . ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα,
&c.*

A cumulative case, which is slightly strengthened by *καυχή-
σασθαι*; cf. *καύχησις* 2 Cor. 11¹⁰. Cf. also 1 Thess. 2⁹. None of the above, taken singly, is more than a possible allusion; but taken together they make the use of the Epistle by Ignatius fairly probable.

Galatians

c

(42) Philad. i. 1.

Gal. 1¹.

δὲν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνων οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ

*οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώ-
που.*

d

(43) Eph. xvi. 1.

Gal. 5²¹.

βασιλείαν . . . κληρονομήσουσιν.

*οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν
Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.*

See above (1) on 1 Cor. 6^{9, 10}.

- (44) Eph. xviii. 1. Gal. 5¹¹.
σταυροῦ δὲ ἐστι σκάνδαλον.
- (45) Trall. x. 1. Gal. 2²¹.
δωρεὰν ἀποθνήσκω.
- (46) Rom. vii. 2. Gal. 6¹⁴.
δὲ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται.
ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καγὼ τῷ
κόσμῳ.

The passage in Philad. is the only one which strongly indicates knowledge of this Epistle by Ignatius; and as it stands almost alone, we cannot claim a very high degree of probability for the reference.

Philippians

c

- (47) Smyrn. iv. 2. Phil. 4¹³.
πάντα ὑπομένω αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυνα- πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί^{με.}
μοῦντος.
- Cf. Eph. 6¹³; 1 Tim. 1¹² (54).
- (48) Smyrn. xi. 3. Phil. 3¹⁵.
τέλειοι ὄντες τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε. ὅστις οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν.

d

- (49) Rom. ii and iv. Phil. 2¹⁷.
σπονδισθῆναι and θυσία.
Cf. also 2 Tim. 4⁶ (59).
- (50) Philad. i. 1. Phil. 2^{3, 5}.
οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν.
Philad. viii. 2. μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθειαν . . . ἀλλὰ κατὰ
μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθίαν μηδὲ κατὰ κενο-
χριστομαθίαν. . . ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

i *Timothy*

c

- (51) Eph. xiv. 1. i Tim. 1³⁻⁵.
ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη.
Eph. xx. 1. ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τισὶ μὴ ἐτεροδιδα-
σκαλεῖν, μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ
γνεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις αἴτινες ἐκζητή-
σεις παρέχουσι μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκονομίαν
Θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει. τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς
παραγγελίας ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς
καρδίας καὶ συνειδῆσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ
πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου.
- Magn. viii. 1. μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἐτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ
μυθεύμασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελέσιν
οὖσιν εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊ-
σμὸν ζῶμεν, δμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ
εἰληφέναι.

If these three passages from Ignatius are compared with the opening sentences of 1 Timothy, it will be seen that the resemblance is very close, and that it lies in words and expressions which are not commonplaces. (See, however, Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 8. 3-5, for a list of virtues beginning with *πίστις* and ending with *ἀγάπη*.) It is also clear that, if literary dependence be admitted, it is on the side of Ignatius. See also (60).

(52) Polyc. iv. 3.

1 Tim. 6².

δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει· μὴ καταφρονεῖτωσαν, ὅτι ἀδελφοί ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιούσθωσαν, ἀλλ’ εἰσιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δουλευέτωσαν.
εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλέον δουλευέτωσαν.

d

(53) Rom. ix. 2.

1 Tim. 1¹³.

ἀλλ’ ἡλέγημαί τις εἶναι ἐάν Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ ἡλείθην, ὅτι ἀγυνῶν ἐποίησα.
ἐπιτύχω.

Cf. above, on 1 Cor. 7²⁵, 15⁹, 10 (5).

(54) Smyrn. iv. 2.

1 Tim. 1¹⁴.

*αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος τοῦ τελείου
 ἀνθρώπου γενομένου.*

Cf. also 2 Tim. 2¹ and 4¹⁷.**2 Timothy****c**

(55) Eph. ii. 1.

2 Tim. 1¹⁵.

*κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν, ὡς καὶ
 αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ ἀνα-
 ψύξαι.*

*δῷῃ ἔλεος ὁ Κύριος τῷ Ὄμησιφόρον
 οἴκῳ· ὅτι πολλάκις με ἀνέψυξε, καὶ
 τὴν ἀλυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπησχύνθη.*

Smyrn. x. 2.

*ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου,
 καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἂ οὐκ . . . ἐπησχύν-
 θητε.*

These two passages seem to be reminiscences of the same context in 2 Timothy. The following words in Smyrn. x resemble Mark 8³⁸ and Luke 9²⁶: see (90).

(56) Polyc. vi. 2.

2 Tim. 2³.*ἀρέσκετε φ στρατεύεσθε.**ἴνα τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσῃ.***d**

(57) Eph. xvii. 1.

2 Tim. 3⁶.*μὴ αἰχμαλωτίσῃ ὑμᾶς.*Cf. also Rom. 7²³.

(58) Trall. vii. 2.

*καθαρός ἐστιν τῇ συνειδήσει.*2 Tim. 1³.

(59) Rom. ii. 2.

*μη πλέον παράσχησθε τοῦ σπονδίου οὐτῆς Θεῷ.*Cf. Phil. 2¹⁷.

ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει.

2 Tim. 4⁶.*ηδὴ σπένδομαι.*

The reminiscences of 2 Timothy, as of 1 Timothy, are tolerably clear. Both Epistles are nearly in Class B.

Titus

c

(60) Magn. viii. 1.

*μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ μυθεύμασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελέστιν οὖσων εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῶμεν, δύολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι.*Titus 1¹⁴.*μὴ προσέχοντες Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις καὶ ἐντολαῖς ἀνθρώπων.*Titus 3⁹.*μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας . . . περιστασο' εἰσὶ γὰρ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ μάταιοι.*

See (51) on 1 Tim. 1⁴. The word *ἀνωφελῆς* and the reference to 'Judaism' occur in Titus and not in 1 Timothy.

d

(61) Polyc. vi. 1.

*Θεοῦ οἰκονόμοι.*Titus 1⁷.*ἀς Θεοῦ οἰκονόμον.*See (7) for 1 Cor. 4¹; cf. 1 Pet. 4¹⁰.

The evidence in the case of Titus is weaker than in that of 1 Timothy or 2 Timothy.

D.

Acts

d

(62) Magn. v. 1.

Acts 1²⁵.*ἔκαστος εἰς τὸν Ἰδιον τόπον μέλλει ἀφ' ἣς παρέβη Ἰούδας πορευθῆναι χωρεῖν.**εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν Ἰδιον.*

These phenomena must be taken along with those in relation to Luke's Gospel.

(63) Symrn. iii. 3.

*μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν.*Acts 10⁴¹.*συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.*

These look like allusions; but the words are common and obvious ones, and may be only the result of coincidence.

- | <i>Colossians</i> | d | |
|--|----------|--|
| (63*) Eph. ii. 1. | | Col. 1 ⁷ , 4 ⁷ . |
| <i>τοῦ συνδούλου.</i> | | |
| Cf. Magn. 2 ; Philad. 4 ; and see Lightfoot's note on Col. 4 ⁷ . | | |
| (64) Eph. x. 2. | | Col. 1 ²³ . |
| <i>έδραῖς τῇ πίστει.</i> | | |
| See on 1 Cor. 15 ⁵⁸ (20). | | |
| (65) Eph. xvii. 2. | | Col. 2 ² . |
| <i>Θεοῦ γνῶσιν.</i> | | |
| In the passage of Colossians, St. Paul, according to the best reading, identifies 'the knowledge of God' with 'Christ.' | | |
| (66) Eph. xix. 2. | | Col. 1 ²⁶ . |
| <i>πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰώσιν;</i> | | |
| Cf. also Eph. 3 ⁹ (33). | | |
| (67) Trall. v. 2. | | Col. 1 ¹⁶ . |
| <i>δρατὰ καὶ ἀδόρατα.</i> | | <i>τὰ δρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀδόρατα.</i> |
| (68) Smyrn. i. 2. | | Col. 2 ¹⁴ . |
| <i>καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ.</i> | | <i>προσηλώσας αὐτὸν τῷ σταυρῷ.</i> |
| The metaphor is the same, but the application is different. | | |
| (69) Smyrn. i. 2. | | Col. 1 ¹⁸ . |
| <i>ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι.</i> | | |
| Cf. on Eph. 2 ¹⁶ (29). | | |
| There is thus a considerable number of possible allusions to Colossians in Ignatius, but none of them is at all certain. | | |
|
<i>I Thessalonians</i> | | d |
| (70) Eph. x. 1. | | 1 Thess. 5 ¹⁷ . |
| <i>ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε.</i> | | The same. |
| The reading in Ignatius is doubtful (see Lightfoot); the adverb may have been inserted from the passage in I Thessalonians. The adjective <i>ἀδιάλειπτος</i> occurs in Polyc. i, but there also it is suspect. | | |
| (71) Rom. ii. 1. | | 1 Thess. 2 ⁴ . |
| <i>οὐ θέλω ἡμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι,</i> | | <i>οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκοντες, ἀλλὰ</i> |
| <i>ἀλλὰ Θεῷ.</i> | | <i>Θεῷ.</i> |
| The evidence that Ignatius knew I Thessalonians is almost nil. | | |

2 Thessalonians

d

- (72) Rom. x. 3.
ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

2 Thess. 3⁵.
εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Philemon

d

- (73) Eph. ii. 2.
όναίμην ὑμῶν.

Philem. 20.
ναι, ἀδελφέ, ἐγώ σου ὄναίμην ἐν
Κυρίῳ.

In spite of the fact that the name Onesimus occurs in this sentence of Ignatius, the allusion is very doubtful. The Pauline phrase *όναίμην* occurs in this sense several times in Ignatius.

Hebrews

d

- (74) Magn. iii. 2.

Heb. 4¹³.

τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐ πρὸς σάρκα δὲ πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχηλισμένα λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν τὸν τὰ κρύφια τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ εἰδότα.

We have here a double resemblance, in the *idea* of nothing being hidden from the knowledge of God, and in the expression *ὁ λόγος* [*ἥμῖν ἔστι*] *πρός* [*τινα*].

- (75) Philad. ix. 1.

Heb. 7^{7, 19, 22, 23, 26}.

καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵερεῖς· κρείσσοντι δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Lightfoot also compares Heb. 2¹⁷, 3¹, 4¹⁴, 5^{5, 10}, 6²⁰, 7²⁶, 8¹, 9¹¹. He adds: 'The reference (in *ὁ πεπιστευμένος*, &c.) is to the special privilege of the High Priest (Heb. 9⁷⁻¹², 10^{19 sq.}) of entering into the Holy Place. This coincidence, combined with those noticed above, shows, I think, that Ignatius must have had the Epistle to the Hebrews in his mind.' It is no doubt true that no other book in N. T. develops the idea of Christ as High Priest, and that Clement of Rome, who also uses it, e.g. (21), shows knowledge of Hebrews; but the comparison may well have been suggested to Ignatius from other sources, and the resemblance does not seem close enough to justify the degree of confidence which Lightfoot expresses. Cf. also Polycarp (65).

I Peter

d

(76) Eph. v. 3.

i Pet. 5⁵.

γέγραπται γάρ· Ὑπερηφάνοις ὁ Θεὸς . . . ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται.
ἀντιτάσσεται.

The quotation is from Prov. 3³⁴. The words are quoted not only in I Peter, but in James 4⁶ and in Clement of Rome (47). In all alike Θεὸς or ὁ Θεός takes the place of the Κύριος of the LXX; but Ignatius alone puts ὑπερηφάνοις first in the sentence.

(77) Rom. v. 1.

i Pet. 2²⁵, 5².

The connexion of ποιμήν with ἐπίσκοπος is considered by Lightfoot to present ‘a close parallel’ with I Peter; but the resemblance must not be pressed. See also (19).

GOSPELS.

(I) The Synoptic Gospels.

The much closer parallels with Matthew than with Mark or Luke are a remarkable phenomenon, but one which frequently meets us in the earliest sub-Apostolic literature.

B

Matthew

b

(78) Trall. xi. 1.

Matt. 15¹³.

οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰσιν φυτείᾳ πατρός.

πᾶσα φυτείᾳ ἦν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ
πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος, ἐκριζωθήσεται.

Philad. iii. 1.

ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν,
δοτινας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτείαν πατρός.

(79) Smyrn. i. 1.

Matt. 3¹⁵.

βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἵνα
οὗτοι γὰρ πρέπον ἔστιν ἡμῖν πλη-
πληρωθῆ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.

Matthew alone of the Evangelists gives this motive for our Lord's Baptism. ‘The use of the phrase πληρ. πᾶσ. δ. is so peculiar, and falls in so entirely with the characteristic Christian Judaizing of our first Evangelist, that it seems unreasonable to refer it to any one else’ (Sanday). The fact that Ignatius elsewhere (Eph. xviii. 2) ascribes a different

motive for the Baptism, viz. ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρίσῃ, perhaps strengthens the case.

(80) Smyrn. vi. 1.

ὅ χωρῶν χωρεῖτο.

Matt. 19¹².

ὅ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτο.

The meaning of the phrase is the same in the two passages; it stamps the doctrine just stated as a difficult and mysterious one.

(81) Polyc. ii. 2.

φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ ὄφεις ἐν πᾶσιν, γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις
καὶ ἀκέραιος εἰσαὲι ὡς ἡ περιστερά. καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί.

This sentence is wanting in the parallel passage of Luke (10³).

C

(82) Eph. v. 2.

εἰ γάρ ἔνδει καὶ δευτέρου προσευχὴν τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει.

Matt. 18^{19, 20}.

ἔαν δύο ὑμῶν συμφωνήσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . γενήσεται αὐτοῖς. οὐ γάρ εἰσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεὶ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.

Here Ignatius's ἔνδει καὶ δευτέρου = δυοῖν. The reference is clearly to the *saying* recorded in Matthew—‘probably a well-known saying’ of Christ (Zahn). Cf. also James 5¹⁶.

(83) Eph. vi. 1.

πάντα γάρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς λδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα.

Matt. 10⁴⁰.

ὅ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστέλλαντά με.

It is possible that Ignatius may also be alluding to the parable narrated in Matt. 21^{33 sq.} (where οἰκοδεσπότης occurs, not in Mark or Luke). There is also a resemblance to John 13²⁰ (see below (102)), which is perhaps as close as the resemblance to Matthew (John uses πέμπειν). Luke 10¹⁶ is much less similar in language than either.

(84) Polyc. i. 2, 3.

πάντας βάσταξε ὡς καὶ σε δὲ Κύριος . . . πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταξε, ὡς τέλειος ἀθλήτης.

Matt. 8¹⁷.

αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν.

The idea is found in Isa. 53⁴; but it is probable that Ignatius borrows from Matthew and not direct from O. T.; for the LXX reading is different, viz. οὗτος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν

φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται. Ignatius, however, translates the Hebrew correctly, and the possibility that he is using a translation other than the LXX cannot be excluded.

d

(85) Eph. xvii. 1.

Matt. 26⁷.

διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ γυνὴ . . . καὶ κεφαλῆς ἐκ Κύριος, ἵνα πνέῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατέχεεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνα-ἀφθαρσίαν.

Cf. also Mark 14^{3 ff.}; John 12^{3 ff.}. If there is literary dependence on any of our Gospels, the preference must be given to Matthew rather than Mark, who has *κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς*, while the reference to the *head* as anointed, and (seemingly) as the quarter from which the fragrance of incorruptibility is shed upon the Church, favours Matthew rather than John.

(86) Magn. v. 2.

Matt. 22¹⁹.

ὅσπερ γάρ ἔστι νομίσματα δύο, &c.

(87) Magn. ix. 3.

Matt. 27⁵².

παρὸν ἤγειρεν αὐτούς.

Lightfoot shows that the belief in a *descensus ad inferos* was prominent in the early Church. Here Christ is supposed to have *visited* the souls of patriarchs and prophets, and to have *raised* (*ἤγειρεν*) them either to paradise or heaven. Cf. also Philad. ix; and 1 Pet. 3¹⁹, 4⁶ for parallel views of the descent into Hades. The belief appears also in Justin, who quotes Jeremiah in confirmation, and asserts that the passage in question, which does not appear in the Hebrew Bible, had been wilfully excised by the Jews. Irenaeus also quotes it more than once, ascribing it both to Jeremiah and to Isaiah.

(88) Rom. ix. 3.

Matt. 10^{40, 41}.

τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν δεξαμένων με
εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

The phrase *εἰς ὄνομα*, as well as the similarity of thought, should be noticed, especially as there may be another echo of this passage in Eph. vi: see (83).

Ignatius was certainly acquainted either with our Matthew, or with the source of our Matthew, or with a Gospel very closely akin to it. In the present uncertain state of the Synoptic Problem, it would be rash to express any confident opinion; but the indications on the whole favour the hypothesis that he used our Greek Matthew in something like its present shape.

D

d

Mark

- (89) Eph. xvi. 1.
εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀσβεστον.

Mark 9⁴³.

The phrase, though in quite a different context, occurs in Matt. 3¹² and Luke 3¹⁷.

- (90) Smyrn. x. 2.
*οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται ἡ τελεία
 πίστις, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.*

Mark 8⁴⁸.

Cf. also Luke 9²⁶ (93), and see (55).

Scarcely anything can be built on these very doubtful allusions.

Luke

d

- (91) Smyrn. i. 2.

Luke 23⁷⁻¹².

*ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ
 Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ
 ημῶν ἐν σαρκὶ.*

'The part taken by Herod is mentioned by Luke alone in the Canonical writings' (Lightfoot).

- (92) Smyrn. iii. 2.
καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τὸν περὶ Πέτρον ἥλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἰδετε, ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὄστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. ἀσώματον.

Luke 24³⁹.

Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 36) says of this passage of Ignatius, *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπόθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται*. Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 2) says that it is taken from the 'evangelium quod appellatur secundum Hebreos,' which he had lately translated into Greek and

Latin, and which at the time he was disposed to regard as the original Matthew, though afterwards he spoke less confidently on this point. In another place (*Comm. in Isai. xviii. praef.*) he repeats his statement that ‘incorporale daemonium’ comes from this source. On the other hand, Eusebius, who was well acquainted with this Gospel, cannot verify the quotation; and Origen, who also knew it well, ascribes the words to another apocryphal writing, viz. the *Petri Doctrina* (*de Princ. praef.* 8), which he pronounces to be the work neither of Peter nor of any other inspired writer. The contradiction cannot be explained. Lightfoot suggests that either Jerome’s memory failed him, or that his copy of the Gospel according to the Hebrews contained a different recension from that which was known to Origen and Eusebius. As regards Ignatius, he thinks it impossible to say whether he got the story from oral tradition or from some written source. Considering the carelessness of Ignatius in quotation, it is strange that Eusebius should not have suggested that he took the story from Luke; and but for these Patristic comments, we should probably have formed that opinion. Ignatius mentions the incident as if it were already well-known to his readers.

(93) Smyrn. x. 2.

Luke 9²⁶.

Οἱδὲ ἡμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται . . . Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Cf. Luke 9²⁶; as also Mark 8³⁸, see on (90).

The balance of probability seems to be slightly in favour of a knowledge of the Third Gospel by Ignatius: cf. Acts (62).

(II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(94) Eph. xiv. 2.

Matt. 12³³.

φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον αὐτοῦ.

γινώσκεται.

Luke 6⁴⁴.

ἐκαστον γὰρ δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ γινώσκεται.

The words have the look of a current saying of Christ.

(95) Eph. xi. 1.

ἥν γάρ τὴν μέλλονταν ὀργῆν φοβηθῶμεν, ἡ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν.

Matt. 3⁷.

γεννήματα ἔχονταν, τίς ἵπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς; Luke 3⁷ (the same words).

(96) Magn. x. 2.

ἀλισθῆτε ἐν αὐτῷ.

Matt. 5¹⁸; Mark 9⁵⁰; Luke 14³⁴.

The mention of the ‘kingdoms of the world’ may be a reminiscence of the narrative of the Temptation in Matt. 4⁸; Luke 4⁵.

(97) Rom. vi. 1.

οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει . . . τούτου.

Matt. 16²⁶.

Also in Mark and Luke.

This is at best a very doubtful allusion.

(III) The Fourth Gospel.

B

b

(98) Rom. vii. 2.

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλοῦλον,
ῦδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοὶ,
ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον· Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν
πατέρα.

John 4^{10, 14}.

σὺ ἀν ἥτησας αὐτόν, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν
σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν . . . τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ ἐγὼ δώσω
αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος
ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Lightfoot’s assertion that ‘the whole passage is inspired by the Fourth Gospel’ seems to be justified, especially in view of John 4²³ καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τοιούτους ζητεῖ τὸν πρόσκυνοντας αὐτόν. Besides the close parallel quoted above, *τροφῆ φθορᾶς* just below is probably suggested by John 6²⁷ τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην, and ἄρτον Θεοῦ by John 6³³; cf. also 7³⁸. If we adopt the reading ζῶν ἀλλόμενον from the interpolator’s text, we have another striking parallel with John 4¹⁴: *πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος* occurs in Justin, *Dial.* 69. On the other side (against the Johannine reference) it might be urged that the words about the ‘living water’ may have been a well-known saying of Christ, with which Ignatius may have been acquainted from other sources. The words of Ignatius about the ‘pleasures of this life’ have a Synoptic ring, and there is nothing corresponding to them, nor to the remarkable phrase about ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος as ‘the blood of Christ,’ in John. Moreover, the passage in John speaks of present advantage, Ignatius of future reward. This

last objection is not serious; and on the whole direct literary dependence seems much the most probable hypothesis.

(99) Philad. vii. 1.

John 3³.

*τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ
οὐδὲν γάρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποὺ φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις, ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἶδας
ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει.*

*τὸ πνεῦμα ὃπου θέλει πνεῖ, καὶ τὴν
φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις, ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἶδας
πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποὺ ὑπάγει.*

The passage reads like an echo of the words in the Gospel, though the thought is quite different. This, however, is in Ignatius's manner. The idea in *τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει* has nothing corresponding to it in the discourse to Nicodemus. The phrase *πόθεν ἔρχεται* recurs John 8¹⁴ and 1 John 2¹¹, in a different connexion. John 8¹⁴ (*οἵδα πόθεν ἥλθον καὶ ποὺ ὑπάγω*) is in some ways nearer to Ignatius than 3³. Both passages may have been floating in his mind.

c

(100) Magn. vii. 1.

John 8^{28, 29}.

*ῶσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πα-
τρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, . . . οὔτως μηδὲ
ἡμεῖς, &c.*

*ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῶ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ
καθὼς ἐδίδαξέ με ὁ πατήρ, ταῦτα
λαλῶ. καὶ δὲ πέμψας με μετ’ ἐμοῦ
ἔστιν οὐκ ἀφῆκε με μόνον, ὅτι τὰ
ἀρεστὰ αὐτῷ ποιῶ πάντοτε.*

Magn. viii. 2.

[*Ἔιστον Χριστὸς*] κατὰ πάντα εὐηρέ-
στησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν.

This parallel is much strengthened by the *double reminiscence*.

d

(101) Eph. v. 2 and Rom. 7³.

John 6³³.

ἄρτος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

ἄρτος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

(102) Eph. vi. 1.

John 13²⁰.

πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει, &c.

See above on Matt. 10⁴⁰ (83).

(103) Eph. xvii. 1.

John 12 ff.

μύρον ἔλαβεν, &c.

Some commentators (e. g. Zahn and Lightfoot) have argued that this passage shows knowledge of John's Gospel as well as of Matthew's, because of the mention of the *fragrance* of the ointment (*ἡ δὲ οἰκία ἐπληρώθη, &c.*); but this can hardly be pressed: see (85). Similarly, *τοῦ ἀρχοντος τοῦ*

αἰώνος τούτον need not imply knowledge of John 16¹¹, for St. Paul (1 Cor. 2^{6, 8}) has the same phrase. The dominant thought in Ignatius is that the Church, as the Body of Christ, has a share in the anointing of the Head. Cf. Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 79, for the same idea.

(104) Philad. ix. 1.

John 10⁹.

αὐτὸς ἦν θύρα τοῦ πατρός.

Cf. also John 14⁶ and Apoc. 3⁸. The Johannine doctrine of the pre-incarnate activity of the Logos is emphasized by Ignatius in this sentence. Compare his words about Abraham, &c., with John 8⁵⁶. Besides the word *θύρα*, compare Ignatius's *εἰσέρχονται* and *σωτῆρος* with John's *εἰσέλθῃ* and *σωθήσεται*. But the metaphor of the Door occurs also in Hermas; and in John 10⁹ there is no reference to 'drawing' to the Father, nor to the Old Testament saints (as in Ignatius's next line). John 14⁶ would have been more to the purpose, if Ignatius had wished to quote the Fourth Gospel here.

Ignatius's use of the Fourth Gospel is highly probable, but falls some way short of certainty. The objections to accepting it are mainly (1) our ignorance how far some of the Logia of Christ recorded by John may have been current in Asia Minor before the publication of the Gospel. If they formed part of the Apostle's oral teaching, they must have been familiar to his disciples, and may have been collected and written down long before our Gospel was composed. (2) The paucity of phrases which recall the language of the Gospel, and the absence of direct appeals to it; phenomena which are certainly remarkable when we consider the close resemblance between the theology of Ignatius and that of the Fourth Gospel. It is difficult, for example, to think of any reason why Ignatius did not quote John 20 in *Smyrn.* iii. 2 (93).

(IV) Apocryphal Gospels.

See under (92), for possible use of *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP

INTRODUCTION.

Standard of Accuracy in Quotation. Very little help can be gained from Polycarp's use of O. T., as the number of cases in which he can be proved to have made use of O. T. is small. The clearest case of a quotation is from Tobit 12⁹ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται (Polycarp. x. 2 ‘eleemosyna de morte liberat’). In Polycarp xi. 2 (‘qui ignorant iudicium domini’) there seems undoubtedly to be a reference to Jer. 5⁴ (οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὅδὸν Κυρίου καὶ κρίσιν Θεοῦ), and the freedom of the quotation deserves notice. There are many places where the language of O. T. may have influenced Polycarp, but the quotations, if they are such, are generally allusive and worked into the structure of the writer's sentences. Polycarp's use of O. T. is in fact very similar in its general phenomena to his use of those parts of N. T. on which he relies most frequently.

In his undoubted quotations from N. T. we find that, while short collections of words are sometimes repeated exactly, in longer passages the order is treated very freely, omissions occur for which no reason can be assigned, and the spirit rather than the actual words is sometimes reproduced. The quotations have the appearance of having been made from memory; rarely, if ever, from a book.

The following *formulae of citation* may be mentioned:—

- (i) εἰδότες ὅτι: see Galatians (31), Ephesians (36), 1 Timothy (48), Gospels (82).
- (ii) καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος: see Gospels (77).
- (iii) μνημονεύοντες ὡν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων: see Gospels (75).
- (iv) ‘sicut Paulus docet’: see 1 Corinthians (2).
- (v) ‘ut his scripturis dictum est’: see Ephesians (37).

A

1 Corinthians

(1) Pol. v. 3.

οὐτε πόρνοι οὐτε μαλακοὶ οὐτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν, οὐτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄποτα.

a

1 Cor. 6⁹.

οὐτε πόρνοι, οὐτε εἰδωλολάτραι, οὐτε μοιχοί, οὐτε μαλακοί, οὐτε ἀρσενοκοῖται, οὐτε κλέπται, οὐτε πλεονέκται, οὐ μέθυσοι, οὐ λοιδοροί, οὐχ ἄρπαγες, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν.

These passages agree verbally, except for omissions in Polycarp. The last words cited from Polycarp suggest that he may have been conscious of making omissions in his quotation, but these omissions do not appear to proceed on any fixed principle, and the quotation was probably therefore made from memory. On the other hand, it seems impossible to doubt that the passage in 1 Corinthians is the source of Polycarp's words.

(2) Pol. xi. 2.

1 Cor. 6².

'aut nescimus quia sancti mundum iudicabunt? sicut κρινούσιν; Paulus docet.'

The reference to St. Paul by name makes Polycarp's use of 1 Corinthians practically certain, though it occurs in a part of the letter for which the Latin version alone is extant.

c

(3) Pol. iii. 2, 3.

1 Cor. 13¹³.

τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν . . . ἐπα-
κολουθούσης τῆς ἔλπιδος, προαγούσης

τυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη,
τὰ τρία ταῦτα μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ
ἀγάπη.

The collocation of 'faith, hope, love' occurs elsewhere in St. Paul (1 Thess. 1³; Col. 1^{4, 5}), but 1 Cor. 13 is the chief passage, and the order there is the same as in Polycarp.

d

(4) Pol. iii. 2.

1 Cor. 8¹⁰.

οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν
πίστιν.

οἰκοδομηθήσεται εἰς τὸ τὰ εἰδωλό-
θυτα ἐσθίειν.

Pol. xi. 4.

1 Cor. 14¹⁰.

'hoc enim agentes, vos ipsos
aedificatis.'

ὅ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ ἔαντὸν οἰκοδομεῖ.

Pol. xii. 2.

'aedificet vos in fide et in veritate.'

οἰκοδομεῖν is a commoner word in 1 Corinthians than elsewhere in N. T.; outside Polycarp, on the other hand, it does not occur in the Apostolic Fathers.

(5) Pol. iv. 3.

*οὕτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας.*See also Rom. 2^{15, 16}.1 Cor. 14²⁵.*τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας cf. 4⁵.*

(6) Pol. x. 1.

*'firmi in fide et immutabiles.'*1 Cor. 15⁵⁸.*έδραιοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι.*Col. 1²³.*εἴ γε ἐπιμένετε τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἔδραιοι καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι.*

The parallel with Colossians is verbally stronger, as *τῇ πίστει* does not occur in 1 Corinthians; but the order is that of 1 Corinthians, and the evidence for Polycarp's use of Colossians is weak (see under Colossians).

(7) Pol. xi. 4.

*'sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate.'*1 Cor. 12²⁶.*εἴτε πάσχει ἐν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη.*

It is possible that *passibilia* contains an allusion to the metaphor of 1 Corinthians. See also 1 Peter (17).

(8) Pol. ii. 1.

*φῶν πετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἐπίγεια.*1 Cor. 15²⁸.*ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.*

This parallelism is too weak to be classed. See also Philippians (42).

In view of the fact that Polycarp's use of 1 Corinthians may be regarded as certain, the small amount of verifiable influence from 1 Corinthians is worthy of notice.

1 Peter

a

(9) Pol. i. 3.

*εἰς ὅν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾶ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ.**ὅν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰς ὅν ἄρτι μὴ ὄρώντες πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιάσθε χαρᾶ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ.*

1 Peter is almost certainly presupposed by Polycarp here, but the points of difference between the passages are instructive for Polycarp's method of quotation.

(10) Pol. viii. 1, 2.

*ὅς ἀπίνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῷ ἴδιῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὃς ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὔτε εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζησωμεν ἐν*1 Pet. 2²¹.*ἐπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν . . . ὃς ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· . . . ὃς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς*Isa. 53⁹.*ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ δόλον [v. 1. εὑρέθη δόλος] ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.*

αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινεν.
 . . . καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν
 διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξ-
 άζωμεν αὐτόν. τούτον
 γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν
 ἔθηκε.

^{4¹⁶} εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστι-
 ανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω,
 δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν
 τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ.

The whole of this passage is very strongly Petrine, and it will be noticed that all the parallel passages in 1 Peter (except one) come from the same context. In the place where 1 Peter is dependent on Isaiah (as quoted above), Polycarp seems clearly to be dependent on 1 Peter. At the same time, the variations of order and the occasional verbal differences should be noticed; but there is a striking identity of thought, even where the form is different.

(11) Pol. x. 2.

1 Pet. 2¹².

‘omnes vobis invicem subiecti
 estote, conversationem vestram
 irreprehensibilem habentes in
 gentibus, ut ex bonis operibus
 vestris et vos laudem accipiatis
 et Dominus in vobis non bla-
 sphemetur.’

τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς
 ζθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα ἐν φῷ καταλα-
 λοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν
 ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάωσιν τῷ Θεῷ
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς. ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ
 ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κύριον.

5⁵ πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλους [ὑποτάγητε].

The second clause in the passage quoted from Polycarp seems to be a certain quotation from 1 Peter, and the unconscious change implied by the word *irreprehensibilem* is therefore to be noticed.

These three passages (9) (10) (11), taken together, strengthen each other, and justify the inclusion of all three in the first class.

b

(12) Pol. ii. 1.

1 Pet. 1¹³.

διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὁσφύας δον-
 λεύσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ,
 . . . πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα
 τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ
 νεκρῶν καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν.

διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὁσφύας τῆς
 διανοίας ὑμῶν, μήποντες, τελείως
 ἐλπίσατε κτλ.

1 Pet. 1²¹.

τὸν δι’ αὐτοῦ πιστὸν εἰς Θεὸν
 τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ
 δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα.

It may be noticed that these two pairs of passages, which agree closely, follow each other in the same order in Polycarp

and 1 Peter. In the first passage, Polycarp appears to conflate a passage from 1 Peter with Ps. 2¹¹: see Lightfoot, ad loc.

(13) Pol. ii. 2.

1 Pet. 3⁹.

*μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ η̄ ἡ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας η̄ γρόνθου λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας.
ἀντὶ γρόνθου η̄ κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας.*

This is almost certainly a quotation from 1 Peter, but the possibility cannot be excluded that both Polycarp and 1 Peter are quoting a proverb in the part common to them. Polycarp's method of continuing the quotation by additions of his own is worth notice.

(14) Pol. v. 3.

1 Pet. 2¹¹.

καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται. *ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν,
αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς.*

Gal. 5¹⁷.

ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

It is highly probable that this is a quotation from 1 Peter, in view of the use of *στρατεύεται*, a word of strong colouring. A fusion with Gal. 5¹⁷ (34) may be responsible for *κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος*.

(15) Pol. vii. 2.

1 Pet. 4⁷.

νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχάς.

νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς.

Pol. xi. 4.

'sobrii ergo estote.'

The expression in vii. 2 is so striking, that it is very probably a quotation.

d

(16) Pol. i. 3.

1 Pet. 1¹².

εἰς ἦν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν. *εἰς ἀἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.*

Polycarp may possibly be influenced by 1 Peter here, as his words follow immediately the certain quotation (9), while the words in 1 Peter follow the words cited from that Epistle under (9) after a short interval.

(17) Pol. vi. 1.

1 Pet. 2²⁵.

Ezek. 34⁴.

ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα.

ἥτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπε-

τὸ πλανώμενον οὐκ στράφητε νῦν. *ἐπεστρέψατε (v. 1. ἀπεστρέψατε).*

Pol. xi. 4.

'sicut passibilia
membra et errantia
eos revocate.'

As Polycarp cannot be proved to have made much use of O. T., it is possible that 1 Peter has influenced these passages. The word *passibilia* may be due to 1 Cor. 12²⁶; see 1 Corinthians (7).

- (18) Pol. vi. 3. 1 Pet. 3¹³. Titus 2¹⁴.
 ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλόν. τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταὶ. ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων.

This is a possible case of influence, but the expression is not striking or distinctive enough to make the inference necessary.

- (19) Pol. xii. 2. 1 Pet. 1²¹. Rom. 4²⁴, 10⁹;
 ‘qui credituri sunt quoted under (12). Gal. 1¹; Col. 2¹², &c.
 in Dominum nos-
 trum et Deum Iesum
 Christum et in ipsius
 patrem qui resusci-
 tavit eum a mortuis.’

The idea is too common in early Christian literature to be assigned to any one source; but as this passage of 1 Peter has almost certainly influenced Polycarp in another place (12), it may also have influenced him here.

- (20) Pol. v. 2, vi. 1. 1 Pet. 3⁸. Eph. 4³².
 εὔσπλαγχνοι. εὔσπλαγχνοι.

In these passages the word means ‘tender-hearted,’ whereas its classical sense is ‘brave’; but no inference can be drawn from this, as the meaning ‘tender-hearted’ seems to be fairly common in later Greek (cf., e.g., Test. xii Patr. Zeb. 5, 8, 9).

B

Romans

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| (21) Pol. vi. 2. | b | 2 Cor. 5 ¹⁰ . |
| πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι
τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
καὶ ἔκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ
λόγον δοῦναι. | πάντες γὰρ παραστη-
σόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ
Θεοῦ (v. 1. Χριστοῦ)
... ἅρα οὖν ἔκαστος
ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον
δώσει τῷ Θεῷ. | τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς
φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἐμπρο-
σθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ
Χριστοῦ ἵνα κομισθαι
ἔκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώ-
ματος πρὸς ἄ ἐπραξεν,
εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον. |

This passage is very probably influenced by Romans, but there may be unconscious conflation with 2 Corinthians. The chief points of connexion between Polycarp and 2 Corinthians are in the word *δεῖ* and in *τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (which is not found in

any early text of this passage in Romans). But the latter alteration might have been introduced by Polycarp himself, and the case for Romans is decidedly stronger than that for 2 Corinthians.

d

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| (22) Pol. iv. 1. | Rom. 13 ¹² . | 2 Cor. 6 ⁷ . |
| ὅπλισάμεθα τοῖς ὅ-
πλοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης. | ἐνδυσάμεθα δὲ τὰ ὅπλα
τοῦ φωτός. | διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δι-
καιοσύνης. Cf. also
6 ¹³ ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης. Eph. 6 ¹³ . |

This passage is certainly influenced by Pauline metaphors. It suggests the reference to Romans, but not much stress can be laid upon this.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (23) Pol. iii. 3. | Rom. 13 ⁸ . |
| προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς Θεὸν
καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον. ἐὰν
γάρ τις τούτων ἔντὸς ἦ, πεπλήρωκεν
ἔντολὴν δικαιοσύνης. | μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὁφείλετε, εἰ μὴ τὸ
ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους. ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν
τὸν ἔτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκε. τὸ
γὰρ . . . ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἀνακε-
φαλαιοῦται, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν
πλησίον σου ὡς ἔαντον. ἡ ἀγάπη
τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται·
πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη. |

Gal. 5¹⁴ ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαντόν.

Possibly a reminiscence of Rom. 13⁸, which, as being a more fully developed passage than Gal. 5¹⁴, is more probably the source of Polycarp's words than the latter.

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| (24) Pol. ix. 2. | Rom. 8 ¹⁷ . |
| εἰς τὸν ὄφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον
εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν, ἵνα καὶ συν-
εισὶ παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ, φέ καὶ συνέπαθον. | δοξασθῶμεν. |

In view of the context, this should rather be treated as dependent on 2 Tim. 2¹¹, see (56).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (25) Pol. x. 1. | Rom. 12 ¹⁰ . |
| ‘fraternitatis amatores, dili-
gentes invicem . . . mansuetu-
dine Domini alterutri praesto-
lantes.’ | τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλό-
στοργοῖ, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγού-
μενοι. |

Lightfoot's reconstruction of the Greek (see his note) gives the best explanation of the passage in Polycarp yet brought forward; this reconstruction involves a reference to Romans, but too much stress ought not to be laid on what after all remains a conjecture.

2 Corinthians

b

(26) Pol. ii. 2.

2 Cor. 4¹⁴.

ὅ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Κύριον ἡμᾶς ἔγειρε. Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησῷ ἔγειρε.

The resemblance between these two passages is not verbally exact, and the idea contained in them may have become a Christian commonplace. The fact that God is described as ὁ ἐγείρας might be accounted for by the previous section in Polycarp, but the most noticeable connexion is contained in καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔγειρε. On the whole, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that we have here a reminiscence of 2 Corinthians.

c

(27) Pol. vi. 2.

2 Cor. 5¹⁰.

See Romans (21) where the passages are quoted. Probably Polycarp is thinking primarily of Rom. 14¹⁰, but has unconsciously been influenced by 2 Cor. 5¹⁰ also.

d

(28) Pol. v. 1.

2 Cor. 8²¹.Prov. 3⁴.Rom. 12¹⁷.

προνοοῦντες δέι προνοοῦμεν γάρ καὶ προνοῦν καλὰ προνοούμενοι καλὰ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώ- ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀν- Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων. πιον Κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων. θρώπων. ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων.

The parallel to 2 Corinthians is closer than that to Romans, as the latter omits the characteristic words Θεοῦ (Κυρίου) καὶ. But as the passage in St. Paul is dependent on Proverbs, no stress can be laid on the resemblance, for Polycarp may be also thinking of Proverbs, though the number of passages in which he can be proved to have made use of O. T. is small.

(29) Pol. xi. 3.

2 Cor. 3².

'qui estis in principio epistulae eius.'

If Lightfoot's interpretation of the Latin version is correct (see his note), the reference to 2 Corinthians seems certain; but the interpretation cannot be regarded as probable (see Harnack in *T. u. U.* xx. 2. 91).

(30) Pol. iii. 2 Παιών, ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν, . . . ὃς καὶ ἀπὸν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς.

No stress can be laid on the very slight resemblance of this passage to 2 Cor. 10¹.

*Galatians***b**

- (31) Pol. v. 1.

$\epsilon\bar{\delta}\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma$ οὐν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται. μὴ πλανᾶσθε. Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται.

There is no doubt that the words in Polycarp are a quotation, especially in view of the formula $\epsilon\bar{\delta}\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma$ ὅτι which introduces them. They also occur in a very Pauline context. No real parallel for Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται appears to be known, and it is therefore highly probable that Polycarp is dependent on Galatians. But the possibility cannot be excluded that the words may be a quotation in Galatians also (μὴ πλανᾶσθε perhaps suggests this inference), and that Polycarp may be dependent on the lost source.

- (32) Pol. iii. 3.

Gal. 4²⁶.

$\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$. ἡτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν, ἡμῶν. ἡτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ [πάντων] ἡμῶν.

It is highly probable that this is a quotation, though the word πάντων appears to have been inserted in the later texts of Galatians through the influence of the passage in Polycarp. The application in Polycarp may well have been suggested by the thought that the Jerusalem that is above corresponds in Galatians to the dispensation of faith.

d

- (33) Pol. iii. 3.

Gal. 5¹⁴.

See under Romans (23), which is more likely to be the source of the common matter.

- (34) Pol. v. 3.

Gal. 5¹⁷.

$\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ἐπιθυμίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

See under 1 Peter (14). The passage in Galatians may have influenced the quotation.

- (35) Pol. ix. 2.

Gal. 2².

οὐτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον. μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἡ ἔδραμον.

See under Philippians (41).

*Ephesians***b**

- (36) Pol. i. 3.

Eph. 2⁸.

$\epsilon\bar{\delta}\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma$ ὅτι χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ πίστεως· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν, Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἕνα μὴ τις καυχήσῃται.

The words *εἰδότες ὅτι* seem to imply a consciousness in Polycarp that he is making a quotation; the two passages agree verbally, except for the absence in Polycarp of some unessential words; and it is to be noted that the sharp Pauline antithesis of faith and works is not characteristic of the Apostolic Fathers generally.

(37) Pol. xii. 1.

Eph. 4²⁶.

Ps. 4⁵.

'modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, Irascimini et nolite peccare, et Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.'

δργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν.

δργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε.

Except for the insertion of *et* between the two clauses, Polycarp agrees verbally (if the Latin version can be trusted) with Ephesians. The passage in Ephesians consists in a quotation from Ps. 4⁵ and a comment on it by St. Paul (cf. Deut. 24¹³ ἀποδώσεις τὸ ἐνέχυρον αὐτοῦ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἡλίου, 24¹⁵ οὐκ ἐπιδύσεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Jer. 15⁹). Even if St. Paul's comment is influenced by these passages in Deuteronomy, the collocation of the two passages in Polycarp is almost certainly due to Ephesians. The words *his scripturis* and *et* may imply that Polycarp regards himself as making two separate quotations, but the second of the two can hardly be other than from Ephesians. The supposition that St. Paul and Polycarp are quoting a common proverb (e. g. Plut. Mor. 488 b, as quoted by Lightfoot) seems to be excluded by *his scripturis*.

C

(38) Pol. xi. 2.

Eph. 5⁵.

Col. 3⁵.

'si quis non se abstinuerit ab avaritia, ab idolatria coquinabitur.'

πλεονέκτης, ὁ ἐστιν τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἥτις εἰδωλολάτρης.

ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία.

There certainly seems to be a reference in Polycarp to one of these two passages, although ideas of this kind may have been Christian commonplaces. The words in Colossians are nearer to those in Polycarp, but as the evidence is inadequate for Polycarp's use of Colossians elsewhere, the passage in Ephesians ought probably to be preferred here.

- (39) Pol. xii. 3. d Eph. 6¹⁸.
 ‘pro omnibus sanctis orate.’ προσευχόμενοι ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων.

The idea here is very obvious, but there may be a reminiscence of language.

Philippians

- (40) Pol. iii. 2 ὅς καὶ ἀπὸν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς.

This passage shows that Polycarp knew that St. Paul had written letters to the Philippians (or possibly, a letter: see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 138). It is highly probable that he knew the extant letter; but the amount of evidence of his use of it is not large, though it must be added that the general impression in favour of his acquaintance with it is stronger than can be fairly estimated from the isolated examination of single passages.

b

- (41) Pol. ix. 2. Phil. 2¹⁶. Gal. 2².
 ὅτι οὐτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω κενὸν ἔδραμον. ἔδραμον. ἡ ἔδραμον.

Besides the verbal parallel, the context in Polycarp, referring to life in the prospect of death, suggests the context in *Philippians*, while the general meaning of *Galatians* is different.

c

- (42) Pol. ii. 1. Phil. 2¹⁰.
 ὃς ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ ἐπίγεια, . . . οὐ τὸ αἷμα ἐκζητήσει ἀπὸ κάμψη ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ τῶν ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ. καταχθονίων.
 3²¹ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

As the context in Polycarp shows clearly that the passage refers to Christ, it is likely that he is dependent on *Philippians*.

- (43) Pol. xii. 3. Phil. 3¹⁸.
 ‘et pro inimicis crucis.’ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

The expression is sufficiently striking to make it probable that Polycarp is thinking of the passage in *Philippians*.

d

- (44) Pol. i. 1. Phil. 2¹⁷.
 συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. 4¹⁰ ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ μεγάλως ὅτι . . .

Compare 2 Thessalonians (46).

(45) Pol. v. 2.

ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα
ἀξίως αὐτοῦ.

Phil. 1²⁷.

μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ
εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ
πολιτεύεσθε.

1 Clem. xxi. 1.

ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ
πολιτεύμενοι τὰ καλὰ
καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον
αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν.

Polycarp may here be thinking of the passage in Clement.
Cf. Clement (40).

2 Thessalonians.

b

(46) Pol. xi. 3.

'ego autem nihil tale sensi
in vobis vel audivi, in quibus
laboravit beatus Paulus, qui
estis in principio epistulae eius:
de vobis etenim gloriatur in
omnibus ecclesiis.'

2 Thess. 1⁴.

ῶστε αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκαυ-
χᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The context shows that Polycarp supposes himself to be quoting words addressed to the Philippians (cf. *etenim*). Similar words actually occur only in 2 Thessalonians, an Epistle addressed to another Macedonian Church, which Polycarp might easily have thought of, by a lapse of memory, as sent to the Philippians. The present tense of *gloriatur* also suggests that he is quoting.

c

(47) Pol. xi. 4.

'et non sicut inimicos tales
existimetis.'

2 Thess. 3¹⁵.

καὶ μὴ ὡς ἔχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ
νοῦθετέτε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

Polycarp's words sound as though he had purposely adapted the expression of 2 Thessalonians for his own object.

In spite of the fact that both these passages occur in the part of Polycarp for which the Latin version alone is extant, his use of 2 Thessalonians appears to be very probable.

1 Timothy

b

(48) Pol. iv. 1.

ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαρ-
γυρία. εἰδότες οὖτι οὐδὲν εἰσηγή-
καμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ
ἔξενεγκείν τι ἔχομεν.

1 Tim. 6⁷.

οὐδὲν γάρ εἰσηγάκαμεν εἰς τὸν
κόσμον, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἔξενεγκείν τι δυνάμεθα.

1 Tim. 6¹⁰.

ρίζα γάρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἔστιν ἡ
φιλαργυρία.

It is almost impossible to believe that these passages are independent. The formula (*εἰδότες οὖτι*) with which Polycarp introduces the second of the two sentences, indicates that he

is conscious of quoting and points to the priority of 1 Timothy. The word *οὖν* may perhaps show that reference is being made to a well-known source, and that the one quotation has suggested the other. It may further be noted that ἀρχή is less vivid than *ρίζα*; this also points to the priority of 1 Timothy.

C

(49) Pol. iv. 3.

τὰς χίρας σωφρονούσας περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων, μακρὰν οὖσας πάσης διαβολῆς.

(50) Pol. v. 2.

ὅμοιώς διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης. . . μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δῆλοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὔσπλαγχνοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου.

1 Tim. 5⁵.

ἡ δὲ ὅντως χήρα καὶ μεμονωμένη ἥλπικεν ἐπὶ θεὸν καὶ προσμένει ταῖς δεήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.

1 Tim. 3⁸.

διακόνους ὡσαύτως σεμνούς, μὴ διλόγους, μὴ οἷνῳ πολλῷ προσέχοντας, μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς, ἔχοντας τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως ἐν καθαρῷ συνειδήσει . . . εἴτα διακονείτωσαν ἀνέγκλητοι ὅντες. γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως σεμνάς, μὴ διαβόλους, νηφαλίους, πιστὰς ἐν πάσιν.

In these passages the general character of thought and treatment is very similar, and there are a considerable number of verbal parallels.

(51) Pol. viii. 1.

προσκαρτερῶμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀρραβώνι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐστι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

1 Tim. 1¹.

Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν.

The unusual order Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς is to be noted: it does not seem to occur elsewhere in Polycarp, and is not found in the passages of Ignatius which are general parallels (*Magn.* 11; *Trall. Inscr.*, 2).

(52) Pol. xii. 3.

'orate pro regibus.'

1 Tim. 2¹.

ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις . . . ὑπὲρ βασιλέων.

That kings and rulers were mentioned in the praises of the Church is clear from 1 Clem. lxi. The plural *regibus* is strange as applied to the Emperor, and has even suggested to some critics an argument in favour of the spuriousness of Polycarp's Epistle (Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, i. 592). But the later date suggested is impossible on other grounds, and the plural is most easily explained by a reference to 1 Timothy.

d

(53) Pol. xi. 2.

'qui autem non potest se in his gubernare, quomodo alii pronuntiat hoc?'

1 Tim. 3⁶.

εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ἴδιου οἴκου προστῆναι οὐκ οἶδεν, πῶς ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται;

The language in Polycarp may be suggested by a rather weakened reminiscence of 1 Timothy.

(54) Pol. xii. 3.

'ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus.'

1 Tim. 4¹⁵.

ἴνα σον ἡ προκοπὴ φανερὰ ἡ πᾶσιν.

Possibly a reminiscence.

2 Timothy

b

(55) Pol. ix. 2.

2 Tim. 4¹⁰.

οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἡγάπησαν αἰώνα, ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰώνα.

The dependence on 2 Timothy seems almost certain, especially as *ὁ νῦν αἰών* occurs only in the Pastoral Epistles among the books of N. T. (cf. 1 Tim. 6¹⁷; Titus 2¹²). Besides the similarity of language, the reference in both cases is to loyalty in face of danger.

c

(56) Pol. v. 2.

2 Tim. 2¹¹.

καθὼς ἵπεσχετο ἡμῖν ἔγειραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευσόμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν, εἴγε πιστεύομεν.

πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν καὶ συζήσομεν, εἰ ὑπομένομεν καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν.

Whatever may be the case with the first part of the promise referred to, the latter seems to be connected with some current *λόγος* (cf. *ὅτι* in Polycarp) like that quoted in 2 Timothy, whether directly or indirectly through that passage. The word *συμβασιλεύειν* is unique in the Apostolic Fathers, nor does the simple *βασιλεύειν* occur with the meaning here implied. The notion of continuance in the present *πιστεύομεν* brings it nearer in meaning to *ὑπομένομεν* than might at first appear, especially when taken in connexion with *πολιτευσόμεθα* that has preceded.

(57) Pol. xi. 4.

2 Tim. 2²⁵.

'quibus det Dominus poeni-tentiam veram.'

μήποτε δῷγε αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας.

The words of Polycarp certainly recall 2 Timothy: in view

of the other evidence this should probably be regarded as a reminiscence.

d

(58) Pol. xii. 1.

2 Tim. 1⁵.

'quod ego credo esse in vobis.' πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοι.

Possibly a reminiscence of language.

C

Acts

c

(59) Pol. i. 2.

Acts 2⁴.

δὴν ἥγετρεν ὁ Θεὸς λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ ἄδου.

δὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέστησεν, λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου (ἄδου is an early Western variant).

ὠδῖνες θανάτου occurs in 2 Kings 22⁶ (Ps. 17⁵), Ps. 114³, and ὠδῖνες ἄδου in Ps. 17⁶; but the expression λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας depends upon a mistranslation of בְּלִי (= 'pains' or 'fetters'). It is difficult to account for the same mistake being made wholly independently, and so it seems probable that Polycarp is dependent on *Acts*. But the mistake may also be due to an earlier writer followed both by the author of *Acts* and by Polycarp, especially as we have no particular reason for supposing the author of *Acts* to have been acquainted with Hebrew.

d

(60) Pol. ii. 1.

Acts 10⁴².

κριτής ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.

κριτής ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.

Acts 10⁴² is the only passage in N.T. where these exact words occur, but 2 Tim. 4¹, 1 Pet. 4⁵ are closely parallel; cf. also 2 Clem. i. 1.

(61) Pol. ii. 3.

Acts 20³⁵.

μυημονένοντες ὡν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος

μυημονένειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυ-
διδάσκων.

πρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε . . .

No stress can be laid on the use of this formula of introduction, as the words are in themselves very natural, and 1 Clem. xiii. 1 has a very similar expression (see below, under (75)).

(62) Pol. vi. 3.

Acts 7⁵².

οἱ προφῆται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν

τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν
οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς
προκαταγγεῖλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως
τοῦ δικαίου.Possibly a reminiscence of the language of *Acts*.

(63) Pol. xii. 2.

'det vobis sortem et partem
inter sanctos suos, et nobis vo-
biscum, et omnibus qui sunt
sub caelo.'

Acts 26¹⁸.

κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις.
8²¹ οὐκ ἐστίν σοι μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος.
2⁵ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν
οὐρανόν.

There seems some possibility that Polycarp is here unconsciously influenced by various expressions in Acts, though no certainty can be felt in regard to the matter. *μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος* occurs in Deut. 12¹², 14^{26, 28}; while the order of these words in Acts and Deuteronomy is the same, Polycarp, if the Latin version can be trusted, adopted the opposite order. For the first clause quoted from Polycarp there is a further parallel in Col. 1¹² (*εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἀγίων ἐν τῷ φωτὶ*), which is, however, less close than the parallel in Acts: in connexion with the last clause, Col. 1²³ (*ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*) may also be noted, but the phrase 'omnibus qui sunt sub caelo' is a very obvious one.

*Hebrews***C**

(64) Pol. vi. 3.

Heb. 12²⁸.Ps. 2¹¹.

δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ
μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάρης
εὐλαβείας. καθὼς αὐτὸς
ἐνετεῖλατο καὶ οἱ εὐαγ-
γελισάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπό-
στολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται
οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν
ἔλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

ἔχωμεν χάριν, δι' ἡς δουλεύσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν
λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέσπωστῷ φόβῳ.
Θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ
δέους.

Though the reference seems to be ■ general one to the tenour of O. T. as well as the Gospel, yet the phrase may very possibly be coloured by Hebrews; for *εὐλαβεία*, which is not found in the parallel passage of Psalms, occurs in N. T. only in Hebrews, and Polycarp refers to *οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι*.

(65) Pol. xii. 2.

'et ipse sempiternus pontifex,
Dei filius.'

Heb. 6²⁰.

ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος εἰς τὸν αἰώνα.

Heb. 7³.

ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ νιῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The occurrence of *sempiternus pontifex* and *Dei filius* in the same context, both in Polycarp and Hebrews, render it not improbable that Polycarp is directly dependent on Hebrews

here. If we may trust the prayer in *Mart. Polyc.* xiv as giving his actual words (*διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σὸν παιδός*), we may suppose that the idea was one which had a strong hold on his mind. The conception of Christ as ἀρχιερεύς occurs prominently in 1 Clement (see 1 Clement (21)) which, however, may also be dependent on Hebrews; cf. Ignatius (75); but in none of these passages is there anything corresponding to *sempiternus* or to *Dei filius*.

d

(66) Pol. ix. 1.

παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

Heb. 5¹³.

πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μετέχων γάλακτος ἀπειρολόγου δικαιοσύνης.

The phrase *λόγος δικαιοσύνης* occurs only here in N. T.; but the context is widely different from that of Polycarp.

1 John

(67) Pol. vii. 1.

τᾶς γάρ, ὃς ἀν μὴ ὅμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν. καὶ ὃς ἀν μὴ ὅμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν.

c

1 John 4².

πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὅμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν· καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὅμολογεῖ (v. 1. λύει) τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἐστίν.

3⁸ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν.

Cf. 2 John ⁷ ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι ἔξηλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὅμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκὶ σὺντός ἐστιν ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ ἀντίχριστος.

Notice especially ὅμολογεῖν, ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστος, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου, which are all characteristic of 1 John throughout. The numerous coincidences of language render it probable that Polycarp either used 1 John or was personally acquainted with its author. [See also Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, i. 20, notes 3 and 4; and in *Hibbert Journal*, ii. 805.]

d

(68) Pol. i. 1.

τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης.

1 John 4^{8, 16}.

ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν.

The expression of Polycarp has an Ignatian rather than a Johannine sound; cf. for instance Ign. *Magn.* vii. 1.

D

d

Colossians

(69) Pol. i. 2.

Col. 1^{5, 6}.

These passages are parallel in thought, but except for the one word *καρποφορεῖ* there is no verbal connexion between them.

(70) Pol. x. 1.

Col. 1²³.

See under 1 Corinthians (6).

(71) Pol. xi. 2.

Col. 3⁵.

See under Ephesians (38).

(72) Pol. xii. 2.

Col. 1¹².

See under Acts (63).

GOSPELS.

(I) The Synoptic Gospels.

UNCLASSED

(73) Pol. v. 2.

Mark 9³⁵.Matt. 20²⁸.

κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διά-
κονος πάντων. εῖτις θελεὶ πρῶτος εἴναι, ἔσται πάντων ἔ-
σχατος, καὶ πάντων διά-
κονος.

διάνθρώπου
οὐκ ἡλθεν διακονηθῆναι
ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι.

The sentence in Polycarp reads like a homiletic application of the saying in Mark, suggested by the mention of διάκονοι on the one hand, and by the example of Christ, as the great fulfiller of His own precept, on the other. The actual words πάντων διάκονος are only found in Mark, but the conception is applied to Christ in Matthew, and the application is so natural as to make it impossible to treat the passage as serious evidence for Polycarp's use of Mark.

(74) Pol. xi. 2.

Matt. 18¹⁷.

'tanquam inter gentes.'

ὠσπερ ὁ ἔθνικός.

(II) The Synoptic Tradition.

75) Pol. ii. 3.

Matt. 7¹.Luke 6³⁵.

1 Clem. xiii. 1 f.

μνημονεύοντες δὲ μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ μάλιστα μεμνημένοι
οὖν εἰπεν ὁ Κύριος κριθῆτε ἐν ὧ γάρ με- οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε . . . ὥς τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου
διδάσκων μὴ κρίνετε, τρῷ μετρεῖτε, μετρη- γάρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖ- Ἰησοῦν, οὓς ἐλάλησεν
τε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ἀφί- θήσεται ὑμῖν. τε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν
τε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται 5³ μακάριοι οἱ ὑμῖν. καὶ μακροθυμίαν οὕ-

νῦν ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ^{6²⁰} μακάριοι οἱ τως γὰρ εἶπεν ἐλεᾶτε ἐλεηθῆτε φέρετε τῷ μέτρῳ ὃτι αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἡ πτωχοί, ὃτι ὑμετέρα ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε, ἀφίετε μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρητε βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν ὡς θήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ ὅτι νῦν.

Θεοῦ.

μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ ^{5¹⁰} μακάριοι οἱ δεκαὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἔνεδιωγμένοι ἔνεκεν δικαιουσύνης, ὃτι καιοσύνης, ὃτι αὐτῶν αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθῆσεται ὑμῖν ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθῆσεται ὑμῖν. ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθῆσεσθε ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθῆσεται ὑμῖν φέρετε, οὕτως διδότε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθῆσεται ὑμῖν.

Polycarp assumes that a body of teaching, oral or written, similar to the Sermon on the Mount, was familiar to the Philippian Church. It is possible that his language, including the form of citation [cf. Acts (61)], may have been influenced by Clement. Polycarp does not, however, quote Clement directly, as he omits some of Clement's most characteristic phrases. In detail he agrees almost equally with Matthew and Luke, but not completely with either. Compare the discussion on 1 Clem. (55).

(76) Pol. vi. 1, 2.

Matt. 6¹².

Luke 11⁴.

μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες καὶ ἄφες ὑμῖν τὰ κατά τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν δοφειλήματα ὑμῶν, ὡς ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν, καὶ γὰρ κρίσει, εἰδότες ὃτι πάντες καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς αὐτοὶ ἀφίεμεν παντὶ ὁφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἀμαρτίας. ὁφειλέταις ὑμῶν. Cf. 6^{14, 15}, 18⁸⁵. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὁφειλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι.

The words δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου evidently introduce a reference to the Lord's Prayer. But no quotation from the Lord's Prayer can be used as evidence for acquaintance with our Gospels, as there are clear signs of its early ecclesiastical use as current elsewhere (see e. g. *Didache* (11)). Possibly, the context here, emphasizing a large charity in judgement, points to the context of the Sermon on the Mount as colouring Polycarp's thoughts (see Matt. 6¹⁴, 7¹⁻⁵). But even if Polycarp were inclined to treat the Lord's Prayer as belonging to the Sermon on the Mount, this would not necessarily imply a knowledge of our Matthew.

(77) Pol. vii. 2.

Matt. 6¹⁸(=Luke 11⁴).

δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι
τὸν παντεπόπτην Θεὸν
μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς
πειρασμόν, καθὼς εἶπεν
ὁ Κύριος· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα
πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σάρξ
ἀσθενής.

καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης

ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.

26⁴¹ γρηγορεῖτε καὶ
προσεύχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ
εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν.
τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον,
ἡ δὲ σάρξ ἀσθενής.Mark 14³⁸.

γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσ-
ένχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ ἔλθῃτε
εἰς πειρασμόν· τὸ μὲν
πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ
σάρξ ἀσθενής.

For the quotation from the Lord's Prayer (Polycarp's words are identical with those of Matthew and Luke), see the note to the preceding passage. The quotation introduced by *καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος* agrees *verbatim* with Matthew and Mark, and appears in a very similar context to that in the Gospels. But this quotation might well be due to oral tradition; or it might be from a document akin to our Gospels, though not necessarily those Gospels themselves.

(78) Pol. xii. 3.

Matt. 5⁴⁴.

'orate etiam . . .
pro perseverentibus
et odientibus vos.'

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς
ὑμῶν, καὶ προσεύχεσθε
ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων
ὑμᾶς.

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς
ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς
μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, εὐλο-
γεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους
ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ²⁷
τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.

Luke 6²⁷.

Here again the language of Polycarp seems to be influenced by teaching like that of the Sermon on the Mount, but the passage affords no evidence for the use of either of our Gospels in its present form.

(79) Pol. i. 3.

Matt. 13¹⁷.

εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν.

Luke 10²⁴.

There is no reason to suppose that the parallel here is more than accidental.

(III) The Fourth Gospel.

C

(80) Pol. v. 2.

D

John 5²¹.

καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς
ἐκ νεκρῶν.

ώσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγείρει τοὺς
νεκροὺς καὶ ζωοποιεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ νιὸς
οὓς θέλει ζωοποιεῖ.

5²⁵ οἱ νεκροὶ ἀκούσονται τῆς φωνῆς
τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες
ζῆσονται.

6⁴⁴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ
ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

No such promise is given in the Synoptic Gospels, whereas it is put plainly in John. The reference seems certainly to be to a Johannine tradition, though it need not necessarily be to our Fourth Gospel.

UNCLASSED

(81) Pol. xii. 3 John 15¹⁶.

'ut fructus vester manifestus ἵνα ὑμεῖς ἴπάγητε καὶ καρπὸν sit in omnibus.' φέρητε, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν μένῃ.

The sentence in Polycarp sounds like a reminiscence of 1 Tim. 4¹⁵, see (54); the only point of contact with John is in the word *fructus*, and this might be accounted for, e. g. by Gal. 5²², if so natural an expression requires any assignable source.

(IV) Apocryphal Gospels.

The passages resembling the Sermon on the Mount, (75)–(78), have appeared to some to suggest a use by Polycarp of some non-canonical source; but, in view of the inexactness of some of his other quotations, this inference does not seem to be justified.

UNCLASSED

(82) In vi. 1 the formula εἰδότες ὅτι introduces the words πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἀμαρτίας, which, in view of their style, are probably a quotation; there is, however, nothing to indicate the source from which the quotation (if such it be) is derived.

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the Shepherd of Hermas nowhere supplies us with a direct quotation from the Old or New Testament, and we are therefore obliged to fall back upon allusions which always admit of some degree of doubt. He may sometimes be consciously borrowing ideas from N. T. writers when the reference is veiled by an intentional change of words; and sometimes he may use identical words, and yet have derived them from some other source, oral or written. In these circumstances it is clear that references which might reasonably be assumed if we knew that the author was familiar with our canonical books, cannot be used to establish his familiarity with them in opposition to critics who dispute it. The following arrangement of passages, therefore, does not represent what the editors may consider historically probable, but what they think may be reasonably deduced from a mere comparison of texts.

EPISTLES, ACTS.

B

I Corinthians

b

(1) Mand. IV. iv. 1, 2.

'Εὰν γυνῆ, . . . ἡ πάλιν ἀνήρ τις κοιμηθῇ, καὶ γαμήσῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, μήτι ἀμαρτάνει ὁ γαμῶν; Οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει, φησίν ἐὰν δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μείνῃ τις, περισποτέραν ἑαυτῷ τιμῆν . . . περιποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃ, οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει.

i Cor. 7^{39, 40}.

ἐὰν δὲ κοιμηθῇ ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν φὲθέλει γαμηθῆναι . . . μακαριωτέρᾳ δέ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτῳ μείνῃ, . . . δοκῶ δὲ κάγω Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν. vs. 28 ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γήμηστ*, οὐχ ἥμαρτει.

* γαμήσῃs, Tisch., W. H.

d

(2) Sim. IX. xii. 1.

Ἡ πέτρα . . . αῦτη καὶ ἡ πύλη δ νιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστί.

i Cor. 10⁴.

ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός.

The resemblance here seems purely accidental, the rock being quite different in the two cases.

Ephesians

(3) Mand. X. ii. 1, 2, 4, 5.

ἡ λύπη ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον
καὶ πάλιν σώζει . . . ἡ λύπη αὐτῇ.
εἰσπορεύεται εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ
λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον καὶ ἐκτρίβει
αὐτό . . . ἡ μὲν διψυχία . . . ἡ δὲ
δξυχολία λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα . . . μὴ
θλίβε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον.

See also iii. 2, and Mand.
III. 4.

In view of the originality and boldness of the phrase in Ephesians, it seems likely that Hermas is developing in his own way a phrase that has lodged in his mind. On the other hand, it is to be noticed that his conception of the Holy Spirit as essentially joyous might have led him up to the idea in a way suggested by the expression, ‘grief enters and grieves.’ Nevertheless, this does not seem to explain fully so remarkable a phrase.

(4) Sim. IX. xiii. 5.

οἱ πιστεύσαντες . . . ἔσονται εἰς ἐν
πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐν σῶμα, μιᾶς χρόᾳ τῶν
ἱματίων αὐτῶν. 7 ἐν πνεῦμα καὶ ἐν
σῶμα. xvii. 4 λαβόντες οὖν τὴν
σφραγίδα [=baptism] μίαν φρόνησιν
ἔσχον καὶ ἔνα νοῦν, καὶ μία πίστις αὐτῶν
ἔγένετο καὶ [μία] ἀγάπη. xviii. 4
ἔσται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν σῶμα,
μία φρόνησις, εἰς νοῦν, μία πίστις, μία
ἀγάπη. καὶ τότε ὁ νιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἀγαλλιάσεται . . . ἀπειληφὼς τὸν λαὸν
αὐτοῦ καθαρόν.

These passages have all the appearance of being imitated from Ephesians. It is the way of Hermas not to quote, but to take suggestions, and alter to suit his own purposes.

d

(5) Mand. III. i.

Ἄλήθειαν ἀγάπα, καὶ πᾶσα ἀλήθεια
ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκπορευέσθω.

Eph. 4²⁵.

λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν. ²⁹ πᾶς λόγος
σαπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν μὴ
ἐκπορευέσθω.

Both the language and the sentiment are too common to

bEph. 4³⁰.

μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἀγιον
τοῦ Θεοῦ.

^{5^{18, 19}} πληροῦσθε ἐν Πνεύματι, . . .
ψάλλοντες.

afford evidence of borrowing. Cf. Matt. 4⁴ ἐπὶ παντὶ ρήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ.

(6) Sim. IX. iv. 3.

οὗτοι πάντες ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἐγένοντο οὖν στοῖχοι τέσσαρες ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ πύργου. XV. 4 οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πέτερα προφῆται . . . οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι.

There may be here a reminiscence of Ephesians, and indeed the whole figure of the tower may have been suggested by Eph. 2¹⁰⁻²².

(7) Sim. IX. xvi. 2, 3.

ἴνα ξωποιηθῶσιν . . . πρὸν γάρ, φησί, φορέσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ ὄνομα [τοῦ νιοῦ] τοῦ Θεοῦ, νεκρός ἐστιν.

Eph. 2²⁰.

ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν.

4^{11, 12} ἀποστόλους . . . διδασκάλους . . . εἰς οἰκοδομήν.

Eph. 2¹.

ἵμᾶς ὅντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι.

Vs. 5 συνεξωποίησε.

C

Hebrews

C

(8) Vis. II. iii. 2.

σώζει σε τὸ μὴ ἀποστῆναι σε ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

Heb. 3¹².

καρδίᾳ πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

Vis. III. vii. 2.

οἱ εἰς τέλος ἀποστάντες τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος.

Heb. 11¹³.

(9) Sim. I. i, ii.

οἴδατε, φησίν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικεῖτε ὑμεῖς . . . ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὑμῶν μακράν ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης . . . τί ὁδε ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμάζετε ἀγροὺς . . . ; ταῦτα οὖν ὁ ἔτοιμάζων εἰς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν οὐ προσδοκᾷ ἐπανακάμψαι εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν πόλιν.

Both the ideas and the words in these passages seem to indicate dependence.

D

(10) Mand. IV. iii. 1, 2.

ἥκουσα . . . παρὰ τινων διδασκάλων, ὅτι ἔτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη, ὅτε εἰς ὑδωρ κατέβημεν . . . καλῶς ἥκουσας· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει.

Heb. 6⁴⁻⁶.

ἀδύνατον γάρ τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας . . . πάλιν ἀνακαυίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν.

Sim. IX. xxvi. 6.

ἀδύνατον γάρ ἔστι σωθῆναι τὸν μελλοντα νῦν ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν Κύριον.

The allusion to teachers, showing that the question was a subject of discussion, and the want of verbal correspondence, make the reference to Hebrews doubtful.

James

c

(ii) Mand. IX. i.

ἀρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως διψυχήσης αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. 2 μὴ διαλογίζουν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' . . . αὐτοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀδιστάκτως. 4 ἐὰν ἀδιστάκτως αἰτήσῃς. 5 ἐὰν δὲ διστάσῃς . . . οἱ γάρ διστάζοντες εἰς τὸν Θεόν, οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν αἰτημάτων αὐτῶν. There are several other references to διψυχία in the same passage: see also Herm. (39).

Sim. I. iii,

ἄφρον καὶ δίψυχε καὶ ταλαίπωρε ἄνθρωπε.

Mand. IX. vi.

οἱ δὲ ὀλοτελεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῇ πίστει πάντα αἴτουνται.

Mand. IX. i.

μηδὲν ὅλως διψυχήσης αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. 2 αἰτοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ [4 and 7, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου]. 3 οὐκ ἔστι γάρ ὁ Θεὸς ὡς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ μνησικακοῦντες.

Sim. IX. xxiv. 1, 2.

οἱ πιστεύσαντες . . . πάντοτε ἀπλοὶ καὶ ἄκακοι, . . . καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔχορήγησαν ἀγονειδίστως καὶ ἀδιστάκτως.

Jas. 1^{6–8}.

αἰτείτω δὲ ἐν πίστει μηδὲν διακρινόμενος . . . μὴ γὰρ οἱέσθω ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὅτι λήψεται τι παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀλλὰ δίψυχος, ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὅδοῖς αὐτοῦ.

Clem. Rom. I. xxiii. 3.

ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη, ὅπου λέγει· Ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τὴν ψυχήν [τῇ καρδίᾳ in Clem. II. xi. 2, where it is quoted as ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος].

Did. iv. 4.

οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἡ οὐ.

Barn. xix. 5.

οὐ μὴ διψυχήσης.

Jas. 1⁴.

τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως κατεργάζεται ὑπομονήν. ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ ἔργου τέλειου ἔχετω, ἵνα ἡτε τέλειοι καὶ ὀλόκληροι.

Jas. 1⁵.

αἰτείτω παρὰ τοῦ διδόντος Θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ μὴ ὀγειδίζοντος.

Mand. IX. ii.

αἰτοῦ . . . καὶ γνώσῃ τὴν πολυευ-
σπλαγχνίαν αὐτοῦ.

Mand. IX. xi.

ἡ πίστις ἄνωθέν ἔστι παρὰ τοῦ
Κυρίου.

Mand. XI. v.

πᾶν γὰρ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ Θεοῦ δοθὲν
. . . ἄνωθέν ἔστιν. 8 πρῶτον μὲν ὁ
ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄνωθεν πρᾶς
ἔστι καὶ ἡσύχιος.

Mand. IX. xi.

ἡ δὲ διψυχία ἐπίγειον πνεῦμά ἔστι
παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου.

Mand. XI. vi.

τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα . . . κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυ-
μίας . . . ἐπίγειόν ἔστι. xii περὶ τοῦ
πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπιγείου.

In the foregoing passages there is sufficient similarity of thought and language to suggest a literary connexion with James; but some of the most striking expressions in James are absent from Hermas, and where the language is similar, the connexion of thought is sometimes quite different. The resemblance, therefore, is not sufficient to prove direct dependence, and may perhaps be explained by the use of a common source, such as is actually quoted by Clement in regard to the δίψυχοι. A προφητικὸς λόγος was likely to be used by Hermas; e.g. *Eldad and Modat*, cited below (16).

(12) Sim. IX. xxiii. 2-4.

ἀπὸ τῶν καταλαλῶν ἑαυτῶν μεμα-
ρασμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει . . . αἱ
καταλαλιαὶ . . . ταῖς καταλαλιαῖς αὐτῶν
. . . εἰ ὁ Θεὸς . . . Ἰλεως γίνεται,
ἄνθρωπος . . . ἀνθρώπῳ μνησικακεῖ ὡς
δυνάμενος ἀπολέσαι ή σῶσαι αὐτόν;

Mand. XII. vi. 3.

φοβήθητε τὸν πάντα δυνάμενον
σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι.

Here both the identity of expression and the resemblance in the context are strongly suggestive of literary dependence. It is possible that both writers used a common document; but there is no evidence of this in the present case.

Jas. 5¹¹.

πολύσπλαγχνός ἔστιν ὁ Κύριος καὶ
οἰκτίρμων.

Jas. 1¹⁷.

πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα
τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἔστι, καταβαῖνον ἀπὸ
τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων. 3¹⁷ ἡ δὲ
ἄνωθεν σοφία πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνή ἔστιν,
ἔπειτα εἰρηνική.

Jas. 3¹⁵.

οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ σοφία ἄνωθεν
κατερχομένη, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπίγειος, ψυχική,
δαιμονιώδης.

Jas. 4^{11, 12}.

μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλλήλων, ἀδελφοί.
οἱ καταλαλῶν ἀδελφοῦ . . . καταλαλεῖ
νόμον . . . εἰς ἔστιν ὁ νομοθέτης καὶ
κριτής, ὁ δυνάμενος σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι;
σὺ δὲ τίς εἰ ὁ κρίνων τὸν πλησίον;

Cf. Matt. 10²⁸ φοβήθητε . . .
τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα
ἀπολέσαι.

d

(13) Vis. II. ii. 7.

μακάριοι ὑμεῖς ὅσοι
ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν
ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην,
καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ ἀρνήσονται
τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν.

Jas. 1¹².

Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς
ὑπομένει πειρασμόν . . .
λήψεται τὸν στέφανον
τῆς ζωῆς.

Rev. 7¹⁴.

οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς
θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης.

Matt. 10²² and 24¹³.

ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς
τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται.

There is some verbal resemblance; but the words are very common, the deviations are strongly marked, and the sentiment is quite different.

(14) Vis. III. ix. 4-6.

αὕτη οὖν ἡ ἀσυν-
κρασία βλαβερὰ ὑμῖν
τοῖς ἔχουσιν καὶ μὴ
μεταδιδούσιν τοῖς ὑστε-
ρουμένοις. βλέπετε τὴν
κρίσιν τὴν ἐπερχομένην
. . . μήποτε στενάξουσιν
οἱ ὑστερούμενοι, καὶ ὁ
στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν ἀνα-
βήσεται πρὸς τὸν Κύ-
ριον.

Jas. 5^{1,4}.

οἱ πλούσιοι, . . . κλαύ-
σατε ὀλολύζοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς
ταλαιπωρίαις ὑμῶν ταῖς
ἐπερχομέναις . . . ὁ
μισθὸς τῶν ἐργατῶν . . .
ὁ ἀπεστερημένος ἀφ'
ὑμῶν κράξει· καὶ αἱ βοσκαὶ¹⁵
τῶν θεριστῶν εἰς τὰ
ῶτα Κυρίου Σαβαὼθ
εἰσεληλύθαισιν.

Lev. 19¹³.

οὐ μὴ κοιμηθήσεται ὁ
μισθὸς τοῦ μισθωτοῦ
παρὰ σοὶ ἕως πρωΐ.

Deut. 24¹⁵.

πένης . . . καταβοή-
σεται κατὰ σοῦ πρὸς
Κύριον.

Ps. 11⁶.

τοῦ στεναγμοῦ τῶν
πενήτων.

Ps. 17⁷.

ἡ κραυγὴ μου . . .
εἰσδελεύσεται εἰς τὰ ὡτα
αὐτοῦ.

Cf. Enoch xciv.
7-10.

With a resemblance of sentiment and expression, the differences are considerable, and both may be explained from the O. T.

(15) Mand. II. ii, iii.

μηδενὸς καταλάξει . . .
πονηρὰ ἡ καταλαλιά,
ἀκατάστατον δαιμόνιον.

V. ii. 7 ἀκαταστατεῖ
ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτοῦ.

Sim. VI. iii. 4, 5.

τιμωροῦνται . . . ἀκ-
ταστασίᾳ . . . ἀκαταστα-
τοῦντες ταῖς βουλαῖς
αὐτῶν.

Jas. 4¹¹.

μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλ-
λήλων.
3⁸ τὴν δὲ γλώσσαν
. . . ἀκατάστατον κακόν.
1⁸ ἀκατάστατος ἐν
πάσαις ταῖς ὅδοις αὐτοῦ.

Prov. 26²⁸.

στόμα δὲ ἀστεγον
ποιεῖ ἀκαταστασίας.

20¹⁶ μὴ ἀγάπα κατα-
λαλεῖν.

Wisd. 1¹¹.

ἀπὸ καταλαλίας φεί-
σασθε γλώσσης.

See also Ps. 49²⁰,
100⁵.

Isa. 54¹¹.

ἀκατάστατος οὐ παρε-
κλήθης.

See also Tobit 4¹³.

The sentiment and the words are sufficiently common. Ἀκατάστατον δαιμόνιον reminds one of James; but with the change from κακόν, the connexion is too slight to be relied on.

(16) Mand. III. i.

τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ ὁ Θεὸς
κατέκισεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ¹
ταύτῃ . . . ὁ Κύριος ἐν
σοὶ κατοικῶν.

Jas. 4⁵.

ἡ δοκεῖτε ὅτι κενῶς
ἡ γραφὴ λέγει; πρὸς
φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα
μα ὃ κατέκισεν ἐν ἡμῖν;

Test. of Twelve
Patriarchs, Simeon 4
ἔχων πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐν
αὐτῷ. Joseph 10 Κύ-
ριος κατοικήσει ἐν ὑμῖν
. . . κατοικεῖ . . . ὃ ἐν
αὐτῷ κατοικῶν. Benj. 6
Κύριος γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
κατοικεῖ.

Mand. V. ii. 5-7.

οὐδὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
ἄγιον κατοικεῖ . . . κατοι-
κεῖν . . . ζητεῖ κατοικεῖν
. . . οὐ κατοικεῖ.

Sim. V. vi. 5, 7.

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον . . .
κατέκισεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς
σάρκα . . . ἐν ἥ κατέ-
κησε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
ἄγιον . . . ἐν ἥ τὸ πνεῦμα
τὸ ἄγιον κατέκησεν.

Though the parallels in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* show that the idea of a Divine indwelling, expressed by the word κατοικεῖν is not unusual, nevertheless the words of Hermas are sufficiently close to those of James to indicate some kind of literary connexion; but as the latter is avowedly quoting an unknown scripture, Hermas and he may be dependent on a common source, possibly *Eldad and Modat*, which is quoted in Vision II. iii. 4 Ἐγγὺς Κύριος τοῖς
ἐπιστρεφομένοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ. We should note that the striking expression in James, πρὸς φθόνον
ἐπιποθεῖ, is wanting in Hermas.

(17) Mand. XII. i. 1.

μισήσεις τὴν πονηρὰν
ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ χαλινα-
γωγῆσεις αὐτὴν καθὼς
βούλει.

2 δυσκόλως ἡμεροῦται.

Jas. 1²⁶.

μὴ χαλιναγωγῶν
γλώσσαν αὐτοῦ.
3² δυνατὸς χαλινα-
γωγῆσαι καὶ δλον τὸ
σῶμα. vs. ⁴ ὅπου . . .
βούλεται. vs. ⁸ τὴν
δὲ γλώσσαν οὐδεὶς δύ-
ναται . . . δαμάσαι.

Polycarp v. 3.

χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἔαν-
τοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.

The metaphorical use of ‘bridling’ is not uncommon, but the word is of rare occurrence. It is found, however, in

Lucian, applied to *τὰς τῶν ἡδονῶν δρέξεις*, which shows how unsafe it is to infer literary connexion from a mere resemblance of words and thought. Here, however, we must notice the presence of the ideas of willing and taming, which occur also in the context of James.

(18) Mand. XII. ii. 4.

ἡ ἐπιθυμία . . . φεύ-
ξεται ἀπὸ σοῦ.

iv. 7 ὁ διάβολος μόνον
φόβον ἔχει . . . μὴ φοβή-
θητε οὖν αὐτόν, καὶ φεύ-
ξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

v. 2 ἐὰν οὖν ἀντι-
σταθῆτε αὐτῷ, νικήθεις
φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.
4 ἀνθεστήκασιν αὐτῷ . . .
κάκείνος ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ'
αὐτῶν.

Jas. 4⁷.

ἀντίστητε δὲ τῷ δια-
βόλῳ, καὶ φεύξεται ἀφ'
ὑμῶν.

Tobit 6¹⁸.

ὅσφρανθήσεται τὸ δαι-
μόνιον καὶ φεύξεται.

Test. of Twelve
Patr., Simeon 3.

ἀποτρέχει τὸ πονηρὸν
πνεῦμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Isachar 7.

πᾶν πνεῦμα τοῦ Βε-
λιάρφ φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

Napht. 8.

ὁ διάβολος φεύξεται
ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

i Pet. 5⁹.

φ' ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ
πίστει.

The words and the thought in the above passages are sufficiently close to James to justify the conclusion that they are probably based on the Epistle. But a doubt is permissible because the words are few and in regular use, and the sentiment may have been common in Christian circles.

(19) Sim. I. viii.

χήρας καὶ ὄρφανοὺς ἐπισκέπτεσθε.

Mand. VIII. x.

χήρας ὑπηρετεῖν, ὄρφανοὺς καὶ
ὑστερουμένους ἐπισκέπτεσθαι.

Jas. 1²⁷.

ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ὄρφανοὺς καὶ χήρας

ἐν τῇ θλίψει αὐτῶν.

Vis. III. ix. 2.

ἐπισκέπτεσθε ἀλλήλους.

The verbal resemblance in the first passage is striking; but *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* is a common word in this kind of connexion, being very frequent in the LXX, and the union of orphans and widows as specially entitled to kindness is met with several times in the O. T. (see in the LXX Exod. 22²²; Deut. 10¹⁸; Job 22⁹; Ps. 93⁶, 145⁹; Isa. 1¹⁷, 9¹⁷; Jer. 7⁶, 22³; Ezek. 22⁷; Zech. 7¹⁰). Moreover, the parallel passages in

Hermas deviate much more widely from James. It is therefore impossible to feel confident that there is dependence.

(20) Sim. II. v.

Jas. 2⁵.

ὅ μὲν πλούσιος ἔχει χρήματα πολλά,
τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον πτωχέυει . . .
ἢ πένης πλούσιός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἐντεύξει,
καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχει ἡ ἐντεύξις
ἀντὸν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.

δ Θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πτωχοὺς . . .
πλούσιος ἐν πίστει.
5¹⁶ πολὺ ἵσχει δέσις δικαίου
ἐνεργουμένη.

The idea of the poor man as richer in spiritual life is common to the two works; but this is suggested also by Luke 6²⁰, 12²¹, 16¹⁹⁻³¹; 2 Cor. 6¹⁰, 8⁹. The idea of the power of prayer is differently connected and applied; and there is no verbal resemblance that can suggest literary dependence.

(21) Sim. VIII. vi. 4.

Jas. 5².

ῶν αἱ ῥάβδοι ἔηραι καὶ βεβρωμέναι
ὑπὸ σητὸς εὐρέθησαν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπο-
στάται . . . καὶ βλασφημήσαντες ἐν
ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὸν Κύριον, ἔτι
δὲ καὶ ἐπαισχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου
τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

ὅ πλοῦτος ὑμῶν σέσηπε, καὶ τὰ
ἱμάτια ὑμῶν σητόβρωτα γέγονεν.

2⁷ οὐκ αὐτοὶ (sc. οἱ πλούσιοι)
βλασφημοῦσι τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπι-
κληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς;

See also 1 Pet. 4¹⁶ (31).

(22) The following passages may also be compared; but it is not necessary to present them, as the language which is used in common by the two writers is not sufficiently characteristic to require remark. The context is quite different, and the use of the same words or figures may be explained from the O. T., or from general literary usage.

Vis. I. i. 8, ii. 1. Cf. Mand. IV. i. 2. Jas. 1¹⁴, 15.

Mand. II. iv. Sim. II. vii. 1⁵, 17.

Mand. XII. vi. 5. 1²⁷, 4⁸.

Sim. VI. i. 1. 1²¹.

Sim. VI. i. 2. Vis. IV. i. 8. 2¹, 4.

Sim. VI. i. 6, ii. 4. 5⁵.

Sim. VIII. ix. i. 2¹⁴.

Sim. IX. xix. 2. 3¹, 14, 18, 2¹⁴, 17, 20.

Sim. IX. xxi (especially 3). 1¹¹, 18, 2⁷.

Sim. IX. xxvi. 7. 3⁸.

Although the passages which point to dependence on James fail to reach, when taken one by one, a high degree of probability, yet collectively they present a fairly strong case, but we should be hardly justified in placing the Epistle higher than Class C.

D

Acts

(23) Vis. IV. ii. 4.

ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν . . . πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, πιστεύσας ὅτι δὶς οὐδενὸς δύνη σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐνδόξου ὄντος.

Acts 4¹².

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἔστιν ἔτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

Isa. 24¹⁵.

τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἔνδοξον.

43¹¹ οὐκ ἔστιν παρέξ ἐμοῦ σώζων.

Ps. 53³.

‘Ο Θεός, ἐν τῷ ὄνόματί σου σῶσόν με.

11² Σῶσόν με, Κύριε.

19² ὑπερασπίσαι σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ.

See also Ps. 32²¹, 78⁹, 105⁸, 123⁸, &c.

It seems doubtful whether ‘the Lord’ and ‘the name’ refer to God or to Christ. In III. i. 9 and ii. 1, where suffering for the sake of the name (in v. 2 ‘the name of the Lord’) is alluded to, the name is most naturally understood as that of Christ. But in III. iv. 3 ‘the name of God’ is expressly mentioned; and in IV. i. 3 ‘his great and glorious name’ seems most probably to refer to God. The same may be said of ‘the almighty and glorious name’ in III. iii. 5. In III. vii. 3 *Kύριος* seems to be used of Christ. This ambiguity qualifies the first impression of resemblance. In any case the usage of the O. T. may furnish a sufficient basis for the passage; and even the negative form of the sentence, which particularly reminds us of Acts, has a parallel in Isa. 43¹¹. The context is totally different from that in Acts.

(24) Mand. IV. iii. 4.

καρδιογνώστης γὰρ ὁν δέ Κύριος.

Acts 1²⁴.

Κύριε, καρδιογνώστα πάντων.

15⁸ δέ καρδιογνώστης Θεός.

The only appearance of dependence here is in the use of an uncommon word. But even if that word originated with the author of Acts, it may have passed into Christian use, so as to be familiar to many who had not read Acts. If we suppose a direct connexion, there is nothing to show on which side the priority lies.

*Romans***d**

(25) Mand. X. ii. 5.

μὴ θῦβε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον τὸ ἐν σοὶ κατοικοῦν, μήποτε ἐντεύξῃται [κατὰ σοῦ] τῷ Θεῷ.

Rom. 8^{26, 27.}

αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει . . . ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἀγίων.

I Thessalonians

(26) Vis. III. ix. 10.

παιδεύετε οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰρη-
νεύετε ἐν αὐτοῖς.

I Thess. 5^{18 f.}

εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους . . .

These passages use the same phrase in rather similar contexts dealing with mutual exhortation.

*I Peter***d**

(27) Vis. III. iii. 5.

ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν διὰ ὕδατος ἐσώθη καὶ σωθήσεται.

I Pet. 3^{20, 21.}

ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὅλιγοι . . . διεσώθησαν δὶς ὕδατος . . . σώζει βάπτισμα.

The context is quite different, the reference to Noah and the ark being absent from Hermas. The idea of salvation through water springs directly from the practice of baptism, and would readily suggest the figure of founding the tower ἐπὶ ὑδάτων.

(28) Vis. III. xi. 3.

I Pet. 5^{7.}Ps. 54^{23.}

οὐκ ἐπερίψατε ἑαυτῶν τὰς μερίμνας ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον.

πᾶσαν τὴν μέριμναν ὑμῶν ἐπιρίψαντες ἐπ' αὐτόν [τὸν Θεόν], ὅτι σε διαθρέψει.

IV. ii. 4 ἔξεφυγες . . . ὅτι τὴν μέριμνάν σου ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν ἐπέριψας.
5 ἐπιρίψατε τὰς μερίμνας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς κατορθώσει αὐτάς.

αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν.

The quotation seems taken independently from the Psalm; for, though the latter part differs from the LXX, it differs more widely from Peter. The huge beast, introduced as a type of the great tribulation, might be suggested by the 'roaring lion' of Peter; but the figure, as used by Hermas, is too obvious to require such an explanation.

(29) Vis. IV. iii. 4.

ὅσπερ γάρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται
διὰ τοῦ πυρός, . . . οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς
δοκιμάζεσθε.

1 Pet. 1⁷.

τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυ-
τιμότερον χρυσίον τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου
διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου.

The words are not sufficiently close, and the comparison is far too obvious and common, to prove literary dependence.

(30) Sim. IX. xii. 2, 3.

ὁ μὲν νιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ
πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ
προγενέστερός * ἐστιν
. . . ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν
ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας
φανερὸς ἐγένετο.

* Not used in N. T.

1 Pet. 1²⁰.

Χριστοῦ προεγνωσμέ-
νου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς
κόσμου φανερωθέντος δὲ
ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων.

Heb. 1².

ἐπ' ἐσχάτου [al. ἐσχά-
των] τῶν ἡμερῶν.

1 John 3⁵.

ἐκεῖνος ἐφανερώθη.
Also 3⁸.

I² ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη.Col. 1¹⁶.

πρωτότοκος πάσης κτί-
σεως.

The antithesis which is here expressed reminds one of the Epistle; but the thought is somewhat different, and the phraseology, as the parallels show, is not necessarily connected with Peter. If we suppose that there is a literary connexion, we may observe that the doctrine is rather more developed in Hermas, and so may indicate that the dependence is on that side.

(31) Sim. IX. xiv. 6.

οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται τὸ
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορεῖν.
xxi. 3 ὅταν θλῖψι
ἀκούσωσι, . . . τὸ ὄνομα
ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ Κυρίου
αὐτῶν. xxviii. 5, 6
οἱ πάσχοντες ἔνεκεν τοῦ
δνόματος δοξάζειν ὀφεί-
λετε τὸν Θεόν, ὅτι ἀξίους
ὑμᾶς ἥγήσατο ὁ Θεός ἵνα
τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα βαστά-
ζητε . . . πεπόνθατε ἔνε-
κεν τοῦ δνόματος Κυρίου.

VIII. vi. 4 ἐπαι-
σχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα
Κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ'
αὐτούς. See (21).

1 Pet. 4¹⁴⁻¹⁶.

εἰ ὁνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνό-
ματι Χριστοῦ . . . πα-
σχέτω . . . εἰ δὲ ὡς
Χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυ-
νέσθω, δοξάζετω δὲ τὸν
Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τού-
των.

Polycarp viii. 2.

ἔνναν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν
αὐτόν. τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν
τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε
δι’ ἑαυτοῦ.

Mark 8³⁸; Luke 9²⁶.

ὅς γὰρ ἀν ἐπαισχυνθῇ
με.

Cf. Acts 5⁴¹: see
(46).

The probability that there is here a reminiscence of 1 Peter is confirmed by the parallel from Polycarp; for the latter has just quoted 1 Peter, and that he still has the Epistle in mind is indicated by the last clause: see 1 Pet. 2²¹. But the citation is not sufficiently close to make us feel confident that there is direct literary dependence.

(32) Sim. IX. xxix.

I, 3.

ώς νήπια βρέφη εἰσίν,
οἵς οὐδεμίᾳ κακίᾳ ἀνα-
βαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν . . .
ὅσοι οὖν, κτλ.

1 Pet. 2¹, 2.

ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν
κακίαν . . . ως ἀρτιγέννητα
βρέφη.

Matt. 18³.

γένησθε ως τὰ παιδία.
I Cor. 14²⁰.
τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε.

The comparison is too obvious to require borrowing; and if Hermas uses the *βρέφη* of 1 Peter, he fails to use the more striking *ἀρτιγέννητα*.

On the whole, then, the evidence seems to place 1 Peter on the border line between C and D.

GOSPELS.

Dr. C. Taylor has elaborated a striking argument in support of the thesis that Hermas based the Church upon four Gospels¹. It is impossible to do justice to this in a meagre summary, and the reader ought to consult the work for himself. The important passages are the following:—

Vis. III. xiii. 3 ὅτι ἐπὶ συμψελίου εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἡ θέσις· ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμψέλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐστικευ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται.

Sim. IX. iv. 3 ἐγένοντο οὖν στοῖχοι τέσσαρες ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ πύργου. xv. 4 οἱ μὲν πρώτοι [λίθοι], φησίν, οἱ δέκα οἱ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τεθειμένοι, πρώτη γενεά· οἱ δὲ εἴκοσι πέντε δευτέρα γενεὰ ἀνδρῶν δικαλῶν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πέντε προφῆται τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Dr. Taylor finds the key to this allusion to the four elements in the well-known passage of Irenaeus², in which

¹ *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*, 1892.

² III. xi. 8, 9 Stieren; 11, 12 Harvey.

he tries to prove that there must be neither more nor fewer than four Gospels. He connects the four *στοῖχοι* in the foundation of the tower with the *στοιχεῖα*. The four generations have their parallel in the four covenants of Irenaeus. 'The numbers of the stones in the four rows are 10, 25, 35, and 40 respectively, of which the decades are expressed in Greek by the initials of John, Cephas, Luke, and Matthew. St. Peter was the traditional authority for St. Mark's Gospel.' The bench, with its four feet, represents the four Gospels united in the one Gospel.

The argument is certainly plausible, and if we knew that Hermas had four and only four Gospels, the explanation of his imagery would be probable. But on the hypothesis that the Church had not yet definitely selected the Four Canonical Gospels, it may be that Hermas had other reasons for his use of the number four, and that nevertheless his use of that number may have helped to guide the decision of the Church, and to furnish Irenaeus with arguments. It is curious that Irenaeus, though referring to four regions of the world and four catholic winds, makes no mention of elements even when he speaks of the world as 'compounded and fitted together.' Moreover, the mere correspondence of numbers is not to be depended upon. Thus twelve mountains represent the twelve tribes or nations of the world. The twelve virgins at the gates of the tower, of whom four were more glorious than the rest, do not stand for Apostles and Evangelists, but for the virtues, of which the first four are faith, temperance, power, and long-suffering. Dr. Taylor, however, makes them represent the Holy Spirit as distributed to the twelve Apostles. While we fully recognize the value of Dr. Taylor's interpretations, we cannot place much confidence in them as an independent proof of the use of our four Gospels by Hermas.

Dr. Taylor supports his principal argument by pointing out several apparent allusions to special features in our Gospels; but here again, though the references are probable on the assumption that Hermas had our Gospels, they are not of a kind to prove that he had them to any one who is disposed to deny their currency at that time.

(I) The Synoptic Gospels.

C

Matthew

C

(33) Mand. XII. i. 2.

τὸν μὴ ἔχοντας ἔνδυμα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀγάθης.

Sim. IX. xiii. 2.

ἀνθρωπος οὐ δύναται εὑρεθῆναι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ αἴται [αἱ παρθένοι = ἄγα πνεύματα, οἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ] αὐτὸν ἐνδύσωσι τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτῶν.

This might have been suggested by the parable of the marriage feast; but the resemblance is not very close.

(34) Sim. III. iii.

ἐν τῷ αἰώνι τούτῳ οὐ φαίνονται οὕτε οἱ δίκαιοι οὕτε οἱ ἀμαρτωλοί, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὅμοιοι είσιν.

IV. 2 δὲ γάρ αἰών ὁ ἐρχόμενος θέρος ἔστι τοῖς δικαίοις, τοῖς δὲ ἀμαρτωλοῖς χειμών. 4 ὡς ξύλα κατακαυθήσονται.

V. v. 2 δὲ ἀγρός δὲ κόσμος οὐτός ἔστιν.

This might certainly have been suggested by the parable of the tares, the general idea being similar, and the last-quoted words being almost identical. It is the custom of Hermas to transform ideas of which he avails himself, and adapt them to his own composition.

(35) Sim. V. vi. 4.

ἔξουσίαν πᾶσαν λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

Matt. 22¹¹.

εἶδεν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐνδεδυμένον ἔνδυμα γάμου.

¹² πῶς εἰσῆλθες ὥδε;

¹³ ἐκβάλετε αὐτόν.

Matt. 13⁸⁰.

ἄφετε συναυξάνεσθαι ἀμφότερα μέχρι τοῦ θερισμοῦ . . . συλλέξατε πρώτον τὰ ζεῦγα . . . σίτον συναγάγετε.

⁴⁰ πυρὶ κατακαίεται.

³⁸ δὲ ἀγρός ἔστιν δὲ κόσμος.

Matt. 28¹⁸.

ἔδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἔξουσία,

¹¹²⁷ πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

The words are sufficiently related to suggest dependence, but are too few to admit of a confident inference.

d

(36) Vis. III. ix. 8.

παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου.

Matt. 5³⁵.

τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

The expression is a fairly common one (see Ps. 46³, 47³, 94³; also Tobit 13¹⁵), and the context is quite different.

(37) Mand. XI. xvi.

Matt. 7^{15, 16}.

δοκίμαζε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν . . . ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ζωῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς. έαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι.

The resemblance here is solely in the sentiment, and that is not sufficiently characteristic to be of weight apart from verbal coincidence.

*Mark***C**

(38) Mand. IV. ii. 1.

Mark 6⁵².

οὐ συνίω οὐδέν, καὶ ἡ καρδία μου οὐ γάρ συνήκαν . . . ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ καρδία πεπωρωται. αὐτῶν πεπωρωμένη [see also 8¹⁷].

The combination of words is confined to Mark, where it occurs twice, and the verbal agreement is sufficient to suggest dependence. It is as if Hermas said, ‘I am like those men who are reproached in the Gospel.’ Nevertheless, we cannot, on the strength of this single passage, assign a very high degree of probability to the use of Mark by Hermas. See also (43) and the references in (46), which exclude Matthew, as that Gospel does not use ἐπαισχύνεσθαι.

*Luke***D**

(39) Mand. IX. viii.

Luke 18¹.

σὺν οὖν μὴ διαλίπης αἰτούμενος . . . πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι ἔαν δὲ ἐκκακήσῃς. αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν [al. ἐκ-].

This connexion of ideas is confined to Luke in the N. T., and the expression is sufficiently close to suggest dependence. The last word is used by Paul, 2 Cor. 4^{1, 16}; Gal. 6⁹; Eph. 3¹³; 2 Thess. 3¹³, but not in reference to prayer, as it is in 2 Clem. ii. 2. See also (11).

(II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(40) Vis. III. vi. 5.

Matt. 13^{20, 21}.

ἔχοντες μὲν πίστιν, ᔁχοντες δὲ καὶ πλούτον τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ὅταν γένηται θλίψις, διὰ τὸν πλούτον αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὰς πραγματείας ἀπαρνοῦνται τὸν Κύριον αὐτῶν.

οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν . . . γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως . . . σκανδαλίζεται.

Mark 4^{18, 19}.

Sim. IX. xx. 1, 2.

οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι . . . αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι . . . συμπνίγουσιν τὸν λόγον.

οἱ μὲν τρίβολοι εἰσιν οἱ πλούσιοι, αἱ δὲ ἄκανθαι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις

*ταῖς ποικίλαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι . . . πνιγό-
μενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν.*

Luke 8¹⁴.
οὗτοι . . . συμπνίγονται.

See also xxi. 3.

The resemblance here may very well indicate acquaintance with the parable of the sower, though it is impossible to connect this acquaintance with a particular Gospel.

(41) Vis. IV. ii. 6. Matt. 26²⁴; Mark 14²¹. i Clem. xlvi. 8.

*οὐαὶ τοῖς . . . παρακού- καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ εἴπεν γάρ. Οὐαὶ τῷ
στασιν· αἱρετώτερον ἦν ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ ἔκεινῳ· καλὸν
αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι. ἔκεινος. ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη.*

This might certainly be borrowed from the Synoptic saying, the change being no greater than we may expect when there is no express quotation. The quotation in Clement (56) proves that the saying was known in Rome, but does not attach it to a particular Gospel.

(42) Mand. IV. i. 1. Matt. 5²⁸.

*μὴ ἀναβαυνέτω σου ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυ-
μῆσαι αὐτῆς ἥδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.*

Mand. IV. i. 6.

*ἔαν δὲ ἀπολύσας τὴν γυναῖκα ἐτέραν οὐς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, εἰ
γαμήσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχάται. μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ [Mk. om.], καὶ γαμήσῃ
ἄλλην, μοιχάται [Mk. add. ἐπ' αὐτήν].*

The first of these passages is similar in sentiment, though not in words, to Matthew. The second resembles the Gospels both in thought and language. It goes beyond 1 Cor. 7^{10, 11}, and, with Mark, omits the qualification in Matthew. Paul's reference shows there was a Christian doctrine on the subject apart from a written Gospel; but the words here are so much closer to the Gospels than are Paul's that we may reasonably infer some kind of literary dependence. At all events, the passages indicate acquaintance with the Synoptic tradition.

(43) Sim. IX. xx. 2.

*οἱ πλούσιοι . . . δυσκόλως εἰσελεύ-
σονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

Matt. 19²³.

*δυσκόλως πλούσιος [Tisch. πλ.
δυσ.] εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν
τῶν οὐρανῶν. Mark 10²³ πῶς δυσκό-
λως οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰς τὴν βασι-
λείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελεύσονται. Luke
18²⁴ nearly the same as Mark.*

We can hardly doubt that this is a quotation.

(44) Sim. V. ii. 1.

τὴν παραβολήν. 2 ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα . . . δούλον . . . παρεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν . . . ἔξῆλθε δὲ ὁ δεσπότης . . . εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν. 5 μετὰ χρόνου ἥλθεν ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου. 7 θέλω αὐτὸν συγκληρονόμον τῷ νιφὶ μου ποιῆσαι.

Matt. 21³³; Mark 12¹; Luke 20⁹.
παραβολὴν [Mk. ἐν παραβολαῖς]
. . . ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα [Mk. ἀμπ.
ἐφύτ.] . . . ἀπεδήμησεν.

Matt. 25¹⁴.

ἐκάλεσεν . . . δούλους [Lk. 19¹⁸].
19 μετὰ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἔρχεται
ὁ κύριος τῶν δούλων.

Mark 12⁷; Luke 20¹⁴.
ὅ κληρονόμος [ὅ νιός].

This may possibly have been suggested by the Gospels; and the whole parable seems framed on the model of the evangelical parables.

(45) Sim. IX. xxix. 1, 2, 3.

ώς νήπια βρέφη . . . οἱ τοιοῦτοι . . . κατοικήσουσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . πάντα γὰρ τὰ βρέφη ἐνδοξά ἔστι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πρώτα παρ' αὐτῷ.

See also xxxi. 3 ‘felices vos iudicio omnes . . . quicumque estis innocentes sicut infantes, quoniam pars vestra bona est et honorata apud Deum.’

It is not improbable that this is derived from some such saying as we find in the Gospels.

(46) Sim. VIII. vi. 4.

ἐπαισχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.

Sim. IX. xiv. 6.

ὅτι οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορεῖν.

Sim. IX. xxi. 3.

τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ Κυρίου.

Matt. 18³.

ἔαν μὴ . . . γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδία, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. 10 οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν . . . βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρός μου. 4 ὁ μείζων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν. 19¹⁴; Mark 10¹⁴ τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν [Mark τοῦ Θεοῦ]. Cf. Matt. 20²⁷ πρώτος.

Mark 8³⁸; Luke 9²⁸.

ὅς γὰρ ἀν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με καὶ τοὺς ἔμοὺς λόγους.

Comp. (31).

(III) The Fourth Gospel.

D

John

d

(47) Vis. II. ii. 8.

τοὺς ἀρνηταμένους τὸν Κύριον αὐτῶν ἀπεγνω-
ρίσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν.

John 11²⁵, 14⁶.

'Ἐγώ εἰμι . . . ἡ ζωή.'

Col. 3⁴.

ἡμῶν.

Matt. 10³⁸.

ὅστις δ' ἀν ἀρνήσῃται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων, ἀρνήσομαι αὐτὸν καγά. Also Luke 12⁹, somewhat varied.

The only connexion is in the word *ζωή*, and it is by no means certain that it refers to Christ in Hermas; in any case, the verse in Colossians is sufficient to show that the expression need not be borrowed from John. The sentiment of the passage is closer to the Synoptics.

(48) Sim. V. vi. 3.

John 10¹⁸.

δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον ὃν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου. Cf. 12⁴⁹, 14⁵¹, 15⁵⁰.

The identity of expression may be accidental, for it is sufficiently explained by the context.

(49) Sim. IX. xii. 1.

John 10^{7, 9}.

ἡ πύλη ὡς νίδος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστι. 5 εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀλλως εἰσελθέν οὐ δύναται ἀνθρωπος εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὄντος τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἥγαπημένου ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ. 6 ἡ δὲ πύλη ὡς νίδος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν· αὕτη μία εἰσοδός ἐστι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. ἀλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ.

ἔγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα. vs. 17 διὰ τοῦτο με ὁ πατήρ ἀγαπᾷ.

14⁶ οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ δὶς ἐμοῦ.

The figure of a gate admitting to the tower which represents the Church is a natural one, and need not be borrowed. Nevertheless, the passage has a Johannine colouring; but whether this is sufficient to prove a literary connexion may be reasonably questioned. Such sentiments must have spread among Christians apart from direct literary influence.

(50) Sim. IX. xv. 3.

John 3³⁻⁵.

ταῦτα τὰ ὄντα [of various vices] ὁ φορῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος τὴν βασιλείαν μέν ὅφεται τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται.

οὐ δύναται ίδειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The two expressions remind one of the passage in John; but in the latter they are synonymous, whereas in Hermas they are contrasted. The idea of *entering* into the kingdom of God is too common to be an indication of any particular passage; and the *idea* of seeing it, though not so frequently expressed, occurs in Mark 9¹, with the parallel in Luke 9²⁷, and the notion of seeing it without entering it is suggested by Matthew 26⁶⁴, with the parallel in Mark 14⁶², where the word *ὄψεσθε* is used. See also Luke 21²⁷.

II CLEMENT

INTRODUCTION.

PHOTIUS (Biblioth. Cod. 126) says of 2 Clement, *ρητά τια ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ξενίζοντα παρεισάγει, ὃν οὐδὲ ἡ πρώτη ἀπήλλακτο παντελῶς.* A case of such alien ‘scripture’ quotation common to 1 and 2 Clement is that found most fully in 2 Clem. xi. 2-4 (1 Clem. xxiii. 3 f.) λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος, Ταλαπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, κτλ. ‘The prophetic discourse’ in question may or may not be ‘Eldad and Modat’: but at any rate it shows that our homilist’s quotations of divinely authoritative words are not controlled by any strict canonical idea, even in relation to O. T. writings. Yet we must beware of mistaking free citations for verbal quotations from unknown Gospels. For what follows the words λέγει ἡ γραφὴ ἐν τῷ Ἱεζεκιὴλ, in vi. 8, is in fact a free paraphrase; and he is apt to use *φησίν* with words which merely give the effect of a passage (e. g. xii. 6 with allusion to xii. 2; cf. vii. 6 where words of Isa. 66²⁴ are adapted). In v. 2, however, he certainly cites a non-canonical Gospel with λέγει ὁ Κύριος, as also in viii. 5, with the addition ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.

In xiv. 2 our author appeals, for teaching about the Church, to ‘The Books (*τὰ βιβλία + prophetarum, Syriac*) and the Apostles.’ Thus, on the one hand, he co-ordinates the apostolic writings with the O. T. as to authority; but, on the other, he does not include them under the same term, ‘the Books,’ i. e. his Bible. Whether, again, he reckons Gospel narratives under ‘the Apostles’ must be held doubtful, in view of his free use of at least one apocryphal Gospel, possibly that ‘According to (the) Egyptians’—which he can hardly have believed Apostolic in origin (assuming that he cites it at all). This suggests that he thought only of the sayings of the Lord in such narratives as the authoritative element; just as he refers (xiii. 3) to ‘the Oracles of God’ on the lips of Christians, and cites the substance of words found in Luke 6^{32, 35}, as embodying a divine oracle (λέγει ὁ Θεός). Here God is con-

ceived as speaking in Christ, who elsewhere is Himself cited as the authority behind the Gospel, e. g. ‘For the Lord saith in the Gospel’ (viii. 5), where an Evangelic source distinct from any of our Gospels seems to be cited. All this prevents any very strict inference from the fact that words found in Matt. 9¹³, Mark 2¹⁷ (cf. Luke 5³²) are cited (ii. 4), after an O. T. passage, with *καὶ ἐτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει*. Thus the book in question is ‘a scripture’ primarily because of what it embodies, viz. part of the Gospel spoken by the Lord; and elsewhere he can quote with equal deference matter certainly not found in any of our Gospels. Indeed, all the facts would be fairly satisfied by the hypothesis that our homilist quotes throughout from a single Evangelic source, if we were at liberty to imagine it a sort of combined recension of two or more of our Synoptists, embodying such additions as made it correspond more completely to the notion of Christ’s ‘Gospel’ prevalent in the non-Jewish part of the Alexandrine Church. In that case it would be an earlier local type of harmony¹ than Tatian’s *Diatessaron*, which so largely superseded our Gospels, even at a later date, among Syriac-speaking Christians. As regards the N. T. Epistles, the phrase ‘The Books and the Apostles’ prepares us to find pretty free use of them, even though they are not formally quoted.

EPISTLES.

C

Hebrews

(1) 2 Clem. xi. 6.

πιστὸς γάρ ἔστιν ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος. *πιστὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος.*

The context of the two passages is similar, referring to the need of hope in the presence of grounds for doubt.

C

(2) 2 Clem. i. 6.

ἀποθέμενοι ἐκεῖνο ὁ περικείμεθα *τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν*
νέφος τῇ αὐτοῦ θελήσει. *νέφος μαρτύρων, ὅγκον ἀποθέμενοι*
πάντα . . .

Heb. 12¹.

¹ On such a view we should of course have to treat the phenomena pointing to Clement’s use of any of our Synoptists as evidence of indirect or second-hand use—so pushing back the origin of such a Gospel to a period prior to that of the immediate source.

Although the thought of these two passages is so different, it seems difficult, in view of the verbal coincidences, to resist the conclusion that the language of 2 Clement is unconsciously influenced by that of Hebrews.

The following points of similarity may be added, though they cannot be classed.

(a) 2 Clem. xvi. 4.

προσευχὴ . . . ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως.

Heb. 13¹⁸.

προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν πειθόμεθα γὰρ ὅτι καλὴν συνείδησιν ἔχομεν.

The expression *καλὴ συνείδησις* does not occur elsewhere in N. T.

(b) xx. 2 has a general similarity with Heb. 10³²⁻³⁹; and the expression *Θεοῦ ζῶντος* occurs in 2 Clem. xx. 2 and Heb. 10³¹ (cf. 3¹²).

D

i Corinthians

(3) 2 Clem. ix. 3.

δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα.

d

i Cor. 6¹⁹.

ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν Ἅγιον Πνεύματός ἐστιν, οὐ ἔχετε ἀπὸ Θεοῦ;

i Cor. 3¹⁶.

οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε . . . ;

Cf. Eph. 2²⁰⁻²².

The phrase in 2 Clement has the same meaning as that of i Cor. 6¹⁹, and it is very possible that it is derived from St. Paul; but the conception had probably become a commonplace among Christians, and we cannot assert a necessary dependence upon any particular passage.

UNCLASSED

(4) 2 Clem. vii. 1.

i Cor. 9^{24, 25}.

The metaphor of the games is very common in ancient literature. Cf. Lightfoot, ad loc.

(5) 2 Clem. xi. 7, xiv. 5.

i Cor. 2⁹.

See note on the passage in relation to i Clem. (14).

Ephesians

d

(6) 2 Clem. xiv. 2.

Eph. 1²².

οὐκ οἴσμαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ἐκκλησίᾳ ζῶσα σῶμά ἐστι Χριστοῦ (λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή) Ἐποίησεν δὲ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ τὸ

καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκε κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἥτις ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

ἀρσεν ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, τὸ θῆλυ ἡ ἐκκλησία), καὶ ὅτι τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ νῦν εἶναι ἄλλα ἄνωθεν [φασίν].

Eph. 5²³.

ὅτι ἀνήρ ἔστι κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναικός,
ώς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας, κτλ.

Eph. i⁴.

καθώς ἐξελέξατο ήμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ^τ
καταβολῆς κόσμου.

We have to notice here :-

1. The treatment of the Church as the body of Christ.
 2. The comparison of the union of Christ and the Church to the union of man and woman.
 3. The conception of the Church as pre-existing, which possibly corresponds in some degree with St. Paul's conception of the election before the foundation of the world.

UNCLASSED

- (7) 2 Clem. xix. 2. Eph. 4¹⁸.
 ἐσκοτίσμεθα τὴν διάνοιαν. Cf. (17).

(8) 2 Clem. xiii. 1. Eph. 6⁶.
 ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι. Cf. Col. 3²².

James

- d

- (9) 2 Clem. vi. 3, 5. Jas. 4⁴.

ἔστιν δὲ οὐτος ὁ αἰών καὶ ὁ μέλλων
δύο ἔχθροι . . . οὐ δυνάμεθα οὖν τῶν
δύο φίλοι εἶναι· δεῖ δὲ ήμᾶς τούτῳ
ἀποταξαμένους ἐκείνῳ χρᾶσθαι.

Jas. 4⁴.

οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ φιλία τοῦ κόσμου
ἔχθρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστιν; ὃς ἀν οὐν
βουληθῇ φίλος εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου,
ἔχθρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καθίσταται.

There is a similarity of feeling between these passages, but no verbal parallel, except in the occurrence of φίλοι and φιλία.

- (10) 2 Clem. xv. 1. Jas. 5¹⁶.
μισθός γάρ οὐκ ἔστιν μικρὸς πλανω- εὑχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, ὅπως ἵαθητε.
μένην ψυχῆν καὶ ἀπολλυμένην ἀπο- πολὺ ἴσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργου-
στρέψαι εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι. μένην.

- (ii) 2 Clem. xvi. 4. Jas. 5²⁰.
 κρείσσων νηστεία προσευχῆς, ἐλεημοσύνη δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγάπῃ δὲ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν προσευχὴ δὲ ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως ἐκ θανάτου δύνεται.

δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης δόδον αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου, καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

The occurrence in 2 Clement of so many points similar to those in Jas. 5^{16, 20} is worthy of notice, although none of the resemblances may be very striking in themselves.

(12) 2 Clem. xx. 2-4.

πιστεύωμεν οὖν, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαῖς Θεοῦ ζῶντος πείραν ἀθλοῦμεν, καὶ γυμναζόμεθα τῷ νῦν βίῳ ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι στεφανωθῶμεν. οὐδὲὶς τῶν δικαίων ταχὺν καρπὸν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκδέχεται αὐτὸν. εἰ γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν τῶν δικαίων δὲ θεὸς συντόμως ἀπεδίδου, εὐθέως ἐμπορίαν ἡσκοῦμεν καὶ οὐ θεοσέβειαν.

There is a general similarity between these passages in the spirit of their teaching, but these parallels, like the others cited with passages in James, are insufficient to give positive evidence in favour of literary dependence.

1 Peter

(13) ■ Clem. xiv. 2.

ἐφανερώθη δὲ ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἵνα ἡμᾶς σώσῃ.

Cf. also ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ζωῆς and ἐκκλησία ζῶσα (occurring in the same section of 2 Clement) with λίθοι ζῶντες (1 Pet. 2⁴).

(14) 2 Clem. xvi. 4.

ἀγάπη δὲ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

See note on 1 Clement (48).

d1 Pet. 1²⁰.

φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ’ ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων δι’ ὑμᾶς.

1 Pet. 4⁸.

ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

UNCLASSED

Romans

(15) 2 Clem. i. 8.

ἐκάλεσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὄντας καὶ ἡθελησεν ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς.

Rom. 4¹⁷.

καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.

The correspondence is superficial, and the phrase in some sense is not uncommon. Cf. Lightfoot, ad loc.

(16) ■ Clem. viii. 2.

Rom. 9²¹.

The metaphor of the clay and the potter is used by Jeremiah (18^{4ff.}), and it would therefore be unsafe to assert the dependence of 2 Clement on Romans.

(17) 2 Clem. xix. 2.

Rom. 1²¹.

ἐσκοτίσμεθα τὴν διάνοιαν.

καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία.

Eph. 4¹⁸.

ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ.

Jas. 5^{7, 8, 10}.

μακροθυμήσατε οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἔως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου. Ιδού, δι γεωργὸς ἐκδέχεται τὸν τίμιον καρπὸν τῆς γῆς, μακροθυμῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἔως λάβῃ ὑετὸν πρόϊμον καὶ ὅψιμον. μακροθυμήσατε καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . ὑπόδειγμα λάβετε, ἀδελφοί, τῆς κακοπαθείας καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας τοὺς προφήτας.

The phrase is parallel to that of Romans and Ephesians, but closer to the latter. Cf. (7).

I Timothy

- (18) 2 Clem. xx. 5. 1 Tim. 1¹⁷.

There is considerable resemblance between these doxologies, but it seems to us impossible to lay much stress upon this, as it is very possible that they are both based upon liturgical forms.

- (19) 2 Clem. xv. 1. 1 Tim. 4¹⁸.
Cf. Jas. 5^{19, 20} (11).

2 Peter

- (20) 2 Clem. xvi. 3.

γυνώσκετε δὲ ὅτι ἔρχεται ἥδη ἡ
ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καύ-
μενος, καὶ τακήσονται τινες τῶν οὐρά-
νων, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβδος ἐπὶ
πυρὶ τηκόμενος, καὶ τότε φανήσεται
τὰ κρύφα καὶ φανερὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων.

Mal. 4¹ ἵδον ἡμέρα ἔρχεται καιομένη ὡς κλίβανος.

Isa. 34⁴ τακήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν.

This affords parallels to 2 Pet. 3^{5-7, 10}; notice also the variant *εύρεθήσεται* in 2 Pet. 3¹⁰, which is near to *φανήσεται* in 2 Clem. xvi. 3.

[Lightfoot thinks the agreement of 2 Clem. xi. 2 with 2 Pet. 1¹⁹ in δ προφητικὸς λόγος, and with 2⁸ in ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας, worthy of notice.]

Jude

- (21) 2 Clem. xx. 4.

διὰ τοῦτο θεία κρίσις ἔβλαψεν πνεύμα μὴ ὃν δίκαιον, καὶ ἐβάρυνεν δεσμοῖς.

ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν . . . εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ Σόφου τετέποτεκεν.

Jude 6

These passages seem parallel, but it is to be remembered that the interpretation of 2 Clem. xx. 4 is very doubtful, that the variant δεσμός (C) is found for δεσμοῖς (S, considerably weakening the parallel), and that changes of the text have also been proposed.

GOSPELS.

(I) The Synoptic Gospels.

C

Matthew(22) 2 Clem. v. 5, vi. 7
(viii. 4).

ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἔστιν, καὶ [+] ἡ, C] ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς αἰώνιου.

ποιοῦντες γάρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσομεν ἀνάπαυσιν· εἰ δὲ μῆγε, οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ρύσται ἐκ τῆς αἰώνιου κολάσεως, ἐὰν παρακούσωμεν τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ.

τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Κυρίου φυλάξαντες ληψόμεθα ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Matthew alone has (1) Christ's promise of rest to those who do His will—such persons 'finding rest'; (2) the warning as to κόλασις αἰώνιος (only here in N. T.) for those who do not His commands, as set forth in the Judgement Scene, while the prize is η (μέλλονσα) βασιλεία and ζωὴ αἰώνιος. Hence it is hard to escape the impression that our homilist is using this Gospel directly or indirectly.

c

Matt. 11²⁸ f., 25⁴⁵ f.

δεῦτε πρός με, . . . κάγὼ ἀνάπαυσιν ὑμᾶς· ἅρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, . . . καὶ εὑρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν.

ἐφ' ὃσον οὐκ ἐποιήσατε . . . Καὶ ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, οἵ δὲ δίκαιοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

d

(23) 2 Clem. iii. 2.

λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· Τὸν δμολογήσαντά με [ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ομ. Syr.], δμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου.

Clement's quotation is nearer Matthew than Luke (who has δ νίδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ). But even retaining ἐνώπιον κτλ. (Matthew and Luke have ἔμπροσθεν κτλ.), Clement's wording is sufficiently different to suggest the direct use of another source altogether, whether oral or written. See the next note.

(24) 2 Clem. iv. 2.

λέγει γάρ· Οὐ πᾶς δ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ' δ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

Matt. 10³² (Luke 12⁸).

πᾶς οὖν ὅστις δμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, δμολογήσω κάγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

Matt. 7²¹.

οὐ πᾶς δ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' δ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

Σωθήσεται may simply echo οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο σώσει ἡμᾶς, just before (cf. iii. 3, also i. 1, 4, ii. 2, 4, 7), especially as Matthew's phrase is rather Jewish; and δικαιοσύνην may be a paraphrase to suit the context, which has *Christ's* will directly in view (cf. xi. 7, xix. 3 for Clement's use of the phrase). Or the quotation may have stood in this form in the same source from which iv. 5, v. 2-4 seem to come, the subject being akin. Or, again, it may come from oral tradition.

(25) 2 Clem. vi. 9.

Matt. 22¹¹ f.

ἡμεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἀγνῶν καὶ ἀμίαντον, ποιὰ πεποιηθῆσει εἰσελευσόμεθα εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον τοῦ Θεοῦ; . . . ἐὰν μὴ εὑρεθῶμεν ἔργα ἔχοντες ὅσια καὶ δίκαια;

Here resemblance turns on the meaning of τὸ βασίλειον. It is true that it can mean 'kingdom,' but rather in the abstract sense of 'sovereignty,' as in xvii. 5 ἰδόντες τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ—a sense which ill suits the contrast here, where it is a matter of 'entering into' τὸ βασίλειον 'with assurance.' Elsewhere βασιλεῖα is used of the Kingdom men hope to enter, see xi. 7 εἰσῆξομεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. Hence βασίλειον may well have the usual sense of 'royal palace,' and so allude to the situation in Matthew's parable of the Wedding Garment, here represented by the baptismal garment kept pure by a holy life (ἔργα ἔχοντες ὅσια καὶ δίκαια), cf. *Acta Barnabae*, 12 τὸ ἔνδυμα ἐκεῖνο, ὅπερ ἐστιν ἄφθαρτον εἰς τὸν αἰώνα.

UNCLASSED

(26) 2 Clem. xvii. 1.

Matt. 28¹⁹ f.

εἴ γὰρ ἐντολὰς ἔχομεν [ἴνα, Syr.] καὶ τοῦτο πράσσομεν (-ωμεν, Syr.), ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἀποσπάν καὶ κατηχεῖν, κτλ.

πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς κτλ. . . . , διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐντειλάμην ὑμῖν.

Just a possible allusion, in view of the reference to missionary ἐντολὰς: yet ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἀποσπάν καὶ κατηχεῖν rather recalls the gist of the *Kerygma Petri*.

D

Luke

d

(27) ■ Clem. ii. 5, 7.

τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀπόλυμένους σώζειν . . . οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡθέλησεν σῶσαι τὰ ἀπόλυμενα, καὶ ἔσωσεν πολλούς, ἐλθὼν καὶ καλέσας ἡμᾶς ἥδη ἀπολλυμένους.

Here, in spite of certain echoes (e.g. ἐλθὼν καὶ καλέσας) of ii. 4, discussed below (30), there might be good reason to suspect allusion to the passage in Luke, but for the fact that Clement certainly uses at least one non-canonical Gospel.

(28) ■ Clem. xiii. 4.

Luke 6^{32, 35}.

Didache i. 3.

ὅταν γάρ ἀκούσωσιν παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι λέγει ὁ Θεός, Οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰς ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰς ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ὑμᾶς. καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία γάρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἔστι; . . . πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ὑμῶν . . . καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολύς. ποία γάρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξεται ἔχθρον.

No sure argument for the use of Luke can be based on this passage. It departs considerably from Luke's wording; while it is simply as one of 'God's oracles' (*τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ*) found on Christian lips that it is cited. The addition of καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς finds parallels in *Did. i. 3* and Justin, *Apol. i. 15* ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς. Such a variant for τοὺς ἔχθρούς would arise naturally in common use as a more exact antithesis to ἀγαπᾶτε. Possibly, however, 2 Clement quotes the whole saying as known to him in an apocryphal Gospel.

UNCLASSED

(29) 2 Clem. viii. 5.

Luke 16^{10 f.}

λέγει γάρ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γάρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἔστιν.

ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἔστι . . . εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει;

Iren. *Adv. Haer. ii. 34, 3* 'Et ideo Dominus dicebat ingratibus existentibus in eum: *Si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit vobis?* significans quoniam qui in modica temporali vita ingrati extiterunt ei qui eam praestitit, iuste non percipient ab eo in saeculum saeculi longitudinem dierum.'

Cf. Hippol. *Refut. x. 33* ὑπάκουε τῷ πεποιηκότι καὶ μὴ ἀντίβανε νῦν, ἵνα ἐπὶ τῷ μικρῷ πιστὸς εὑρεθεὶς καὶ τὸ μέγα πιστευθῆναι δυνηθῆς.

While the latter part of Clement's citation of Christ's words 'in the Gospel' agrees exactly with the beginning of the passage in Luke, its former part differs so widely that it is best to regard the whole as quoted from another source altogether. For Irenaeus, followed by Hippolytus, discountenances the idea that the deviation of form is accidental (or represents a glossing of Matt. 25^{21, 23}). That Irenaeus is not quoting Luke 16¹¹ seems clear from the way in which he introduces the words, viz. 'Dominus dicebat ingratis existentibus in eum,' which (a) does not suit Luke's context [rather that of Matt. 25¹⁴⁻³⁰], while (b) *dicebat* is not his usual phrase in citing a definite passage in our Gospels, but points rather to some *logion* handed down as characteristic of his attitude to a class of hearers. Thus, whatever the exact relation of the saying in our two witnesses, they point to its currency outside our Gospels; and if we may argue from the divergence in form—οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε (which must stand, in view of what follows) and *fideles non fuistis*—it was not confined to one circle before Irenaeus's day. Cf. (31), which relates to the same context in Luke (16¹³), also (34).

(II) The Synoptic Tradition.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (30) | 2 Clem. ii. 4. | Matt. 9 ¹³ ; Mark 2 ¹⁷
(Luke 5 ³²). |
| | καὶ ἔτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει ὅτι Οὐκ
ἡλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρ-
τωλούς. | οὐ (γάρ, Matt.) ἡλθον καλέσαι
δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλούς. |

Cf. Barn. v. 9 ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἡλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλούς.

The parallelism with our two first Synoptics (Luke has οὐκ ἐλήλυθα . . . εἰς μετάνοιαν) is exact; and Clement, unlike Barnabas, cites it as 'a scripture.' But what the Gospel writing referred to may be, is a question complicated by Clement's known use of some source distinct from our Gospels; see Introduction ad fin.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (31) | 2 Clem. vi. 1 f. | Luke 16 ¹³ ; Matt. 16 ²⁶ . |
| | λέγει δὲ ὁ Κύριος· Οὐδέποτε οἰκέτης
δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν ἐάν
ημεῖς θελωμεν καὶ Θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ | Verbally as Luke 16 ¹³ ; Matt.
6 ²⁴ lacks οἰκέτης. |

μαμωνᾶ, ἀσύμφορον ἡμῖν ἔστιν. Τί γάρ τὸ ὄφελος, ἐάν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἡμιωθῇ;

It looks as if Clement knew both Matthew and Luke, or a document based on them (cf. Introd. ad fin.).

(32) 2 Clem. ix. 11.

καὶ γὰρ εἰπεν ὁ Κύριος· Ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοι εἰσιν, οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου.

Nearer Matt. 16²⁶ (cf. Mark 8¹⁶) than Luke 9²⁵; neither has *tí tò ὄφελος*;

Luke 8²¹.

μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες.

Matt. 12^{49 f.} (Mark 3⁸).

Ιδού, ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου οἵστις γὰρ ἀν ποιῆσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μου ἀδελφός, κτλ.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx. 14 οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πατρός μου.

Clem. Alex. *Ecl. Proph.* 20 ἄγει οὖν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συγκληρονόμους νιὸν καὶ φίλους· Ἀδελφοί μου γάρ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, καὶ συγκληρονόμοι οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου.

Here we seem to have a fusion of the structure of Luke with the phrasing of Matthew. Yet the resemblance between 2 Clement and the *Ecl. Proph.* suggests that these both knew the saying in the same form, whether written or in traditional use. Epiphanius seems to be citing the Ebionite Gospel, or our Gospels loosely in his own words. See also (35).

(33) 2 Clem. iii. 4 (cf. 5).

ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας.

Mark 12³⁰, cf. Matt. 22³⁷; Luke

10²⁷.

‘A reference ultimately to Deut. 6⁵; but as both words διανοίας and καρδίας do not seem to occur in that passage in any one text of the LXX, we must suppose that the writer had in mind the saying rather as it is quoted in the Gospels, especially Mark xii. 30 ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου . . . καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου . . . (comp. Matt. 22³⁷; Luke 10²⁷).’ So Lightfoot ad loc. Yet Mark may follow a current LXX text. The same may be said of Clement’s deviation from Cod. B of the LXX in the quotation from Isa. 29¹³ which immediately follows. This appears in a form found also in 1 Clem. xv. 2 and closely related to ΝΑQ of the LXX. See p. 62.

(III) *Apocryphal Gospels.*

(34) 2 Clem. iv. 5.

διὰ τοῦτο . . . εἰπεν ὁ Κύριος [Ἴησοῦς, Syr., cf. v. 4]. Ἐὰν γὰρ μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγγένειον ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου, καὶ μὴ ποιήτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν, ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἔστε, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.

Ps. 6⁹ ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

Justin, *Apol.* i. 16 καὶ τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας, cf. *Dial.* 76 καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

The points in common with Luke, ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα . . . πόθεν ἔστε, ἐργάται, point to knowledge of the saying in his form rather than Matthew's. Nor need the setting be different from Luke's, as would be the case if its imagery were that of sheep and their shepherd, as in Isa. 40¹¹. This, indeed, would suit the thought of the whole section iii. 2 (or iv. 2)—v. 4. But another interpretation of συνηγγένειον is possible, which would make it continue the imagery of Luke 13²⁷ ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου, κτλ. Yet compare (29), (35).

(35) 2 Clem. v. 2-4.

λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, Ἐσεσθε ὡς ἄρνια ἐν μέσῳ λύκων ἀποκριθεῖσι δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· Ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἄρνια; εἰπεν ὁ Ἴησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μή φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἄρνια τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβείσθε τοὺς ἀποκτένοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβείσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἔξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός.

Justin, *Apol.* i. 19 μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ δυναμένους τι ποιῆσαι, εἴτε, φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ.

Here the phenomena of 2 Clem. (34), (29) recur, viz. closer verbal resemblance (in the parts common) to Luke than to

Luke 13²⁷.

καὶ ἐρεῖ, Λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἔστε· ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται ἀδικίας.

Matt. 7²³.

καὶ τότε ὅμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι Οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

Luke 10³; Matt. 10¹⁶.

ἰδού, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρνας (πρόθατα, Matt.) ἐν μέσῳ λύκων.

Luke 12⁴ f.

μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἔχοντων περισσότερόν τι ποιῆσαι . . . φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔξουσίαν ἔχοντα ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν.

Matt. 10²⁸.

καὶ μὴ φοβηθῆτε (ἀπὸ) . . . τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι· φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ.

Matthew, though the reference to $\psi\nu\chi\dot{\eta}$ καὶ σῶμα is found only in Matthew—where moreover both passages occur in the same discourse. The like is true of Justin's citation, which also shows the change of construction from φοβηθῆτε ἀπό to φοβεῖσθε with accusative. All this points to the use by Clement of a source fusing the forms found in Luke and Matthew (as Justin does), and adding fresh matter, in the form of question and answer, tending to connect two *logia* not thus connected even in Matthew, where they are in the same address. In this same source (*ut vid.*) the idea of Christ's lambs is perhaps also introduced to give a context to another *logion* (see above). [Whether this source be identical with that used in xii. 2, which was probably the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, may be considered an open question. Its character corresponds more nearly to what we know of the Oxyrhynchus *Sayings of Jesus*, than to that Gospel as usually conceived. But it is quite likely that the Egyptian Gospel embodied much matter from earlier Gospels, including the Oxyrhynchus 'Sayings' or Gospel (?) cited by Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 9. 45 as the local Gospel καὶ Ἐβραῖον); in which case the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* may be the one source cited by 2 Clem. throughout.—J. V. B.]

(36) 2 Clem. xii. 2.

ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς δὲ Κύριος ὑπό τινος, πότε ἡξεῖ αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἔν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 13. 92.

διὰ τοῦτο τοι, ὁ Καστιανός φησι,
πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης πότε γνω-
σθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὃν ἥρετο, ἔφη ὁ
Κύριος· Ὁταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα
πατήσῃτε καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἔν,
καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε
ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

Clem. Alex. vouches that what Cassian cites occurs in the Gospel *κατ' Ἀλγυπτίους*, and it looks as if 2 Clement quotes from the same passage. Only 2 Clement omits its opening clause, as not to his purpose (perhaps as liable to Encratite exegesis); while Cassian omits the third clause, *καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω*, as not to his purpose.

TABLES OF RESULTS

TABLE I

	Barnabas.	Didache. ‘Two Ways.’		Rest.	1 Clement.	Ignatius.	Polycarp.	Hermas.	2 Clement.	Author affording first marked trace.
Synoptic Tradition	+ {	?	+		+	+	+	+	+	{ Barnabas
Matthew	D	...	C? [D]		...	B	...	C	C*	Didache
Mark	...	...	...		...	D?	...	C	...	Didache
Luke	?	...	D [D]		...	D	...	D	D*	Hermas
John	?	...	?		...	B	C	D	...	Didache
Acts	...	D?	...		C	D	C	D	...	Ignatius
Romans	B	D?	...		A	C	B	D	?	1 Clement
1 Corinthians	D	...	D		A	A	A	B	D	Barnabas
2 Corinthians	D	...	...		D	C?	B	...	...	1 Clement
Galatians	...	...	...		D	C	B	...	...	Polycarp
Ephesians	C	...	...		D	B	B	B	D	Ignatius
Philippians	...	...	...		D	C	B	...	...	Barnabas
Colossians	D	...	...		D	D	D	...	...	Ignatius
1 Thessalonians	...	...	...		...	D?	...	D	...	? Barnabas
2 Thessalonians	...	...	...		...	D?	B	...	...	? Hermas
1 Timothy	D	...	...		D	C	B	...	?	Polycarp
2 Timothy	D	...	...		...	C	B	...	...	Ignatius
Titus	D	...	...		C	C	...	...	...	Ignatius
Philemon	...	...	...		...	D?	...	...	...	1 Clement
Hebrews	C	?	...		A	D	C	C	C	Barnabas
James	...	...	...		...	...	...	C	D	1 Clement
1 Peter	D	...	[D]		D	D	A	D	D	Hermas
2 Peter	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	?	Polycarp
1 John	...	...	...		D	...	C	...	...	Polycarp
2 John	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...
3 John	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...
Jude	...	?	...		...	...	...	...	?	...
Apocalypse	?	...	...		D	...	...	...	...	? 1 Clement

? = ‘Unclassed,’ or to qualify the value of the letter which it follows.

[] = Did. i. 3–ii. 1, not witnessed to by other early documents.

* To be taken in connexion with the suggestion on p. 123, note, that the apocryphal source known to 2 Clement itself used Matt. and Luke.

TABLE II

The following classification is not in all cases to be taken strictly, but in the light of the qualifications indicated in the body of the work itself. References to 'Synoptic Tradition' have been omitted altogether, as not seeming to admit of any such classification.

<i>Barnabas.</i>	B Rom. C Eph. Heb. D Matt. 1 Cor. 2 Cor. Col. 1 Tim. ■ Tim. Titus, 1 Pet. Unclassed: Luke, John, Apoc.
<i>Didache.</i>	(i) 'Two Ways': D ? Acts, Rom. Unclassed: Heb. Jude. (ii) Rest: B Synop. Trad. C? Matthew. D Luke, 1 Cor. 1 Pet. Unclassed: John.
<i>1 Clement.</i>	A Rom. 1 Cor. Heb. C Acts, Titus. D 2 Cor. Gal. Phil. Col. 1 Tim. 1 Pet. 1 John, Apoc.
<i>Ignatius.</i>	A 1 Cor. B Matt. John, Eph. C Rom. 2 Cor. (?), Gal. Phil. 1 Tim. 2 Tim. Titus. D Mark (?), Luke, Acts, Col. 1 Thess. (?), 2 Thess. (?), Philem. (?), Heb. 1 Pet.
<i>Polycarp.</i>	A 1 Cor. 1 Pet. B Rom. 2 Cor. Gal. Eph. Phil. 2 Thess. 1 Tim. 2 Tim. C John, Acts, Heb. 1 John. D Col.
<i>Hermas.</i>	B 1 Cor. Eph. C Matt. Mark, Heb. Jas. D Luke, John, Acts, Rom. 1 Thess. 1 Pet.
<i>2 Clement.</i>	C Matt. Heb. D Luke, 1 Cor. Eph. Jas. 1 Pet. Unclassed: Rom. 1 Tim. ■ Pet. Jude.

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